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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF

SOUTH CAROLINA;

EMBRACING MANY

RARE AND VALUABLE PAMPHLETS,

AND

OTHER DOCUMENTS,

RELATING TO THE

HISTORY OF THAT STATE,

FROM ITS FIRST DISCOVERY TO ITS INDEPENDENCE,

IN THE YEAR 1776.

COMPILED, WITH VARIOUS NOTES, AND AN INTRODUCTION,

BY B. R. CARROLL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

In presenting these volumes of "Historical Collections of South Carolina," to his fellow-citizens, the Editor flatters himself, that he has done them an essential service. All the works he has republished, have been long since out of print; and most of them are not to be found in any public or private library in this country. With great care and diligence, and at considerable expense, the works have been now brought together in one body; and the Editor hesitates not in saying, that the accomplishment of this plan will place the early history of his native state in its true and proper position. It is no detraction to affirm, that those who, within the last half century, have written the history of South Carolina, have suffered many errors to creep into their respective works. The faults may scarcely be attributed to them; for, in truth, until within a few years since, the materials for a correct history of the State were not to be had in this country. About three years ago, the Editor first determined to engage himself in collecting such documents and papers as would supply the deficiency complained of. At first, his object was merely to engage those leisure moments which he could spare from his professional avocations; but he had not progressed far in his undertaking, before he found, that, by extending his labours, he might add to his own private pleasure the gratification of

benefiting his State. With this view, he commenced the present volumes of Historical Collections. After visiting most of the principal libraries in the country, and consulting all the catalogues of rare books he could meet with, he finally succeeded in discovering many documents and pamphlets, which, though exceedingly important, had, as yet, been never known in this State. Some of these, after repeated applications, he at length procured from the Antiquarian book stores across the waters; while others of them were carefully transcribed from copies in different libraries throughout the country. Some idea of the value of these volumes may be collected from the following brief abstract of the pamphlets, &c., embraced in the collection.

The first volume commences with an introductory discourse from the editor, in which he has attempted to describe the discoveries of the Spanish, French, and English in this State and Florida. The period treated of, is one which has been scarcely noticed by any of our historians. It presents the country in its first rude and uncultivated state; when its aborigines are to be viewed in their true character and condition. In preparing this part of the work much research has been made to render it complete, and the Editor hopes he has not failed in attaining his object.

The remaining portion of the first volume, is taken up with Dr. Hewit's Historical Account of South Carolina and Georgia; originally published at London, in 1779, in two volumes. To this work, the Editor has appended many historical notes and remarks; in doing which, it will be perceived, that he has corrected many errors which, from this source, have crept into our history. He has not ventured to do so, however, without having consulted the

best authorities upon the points he has disputed. In every instance he has quoted the authorities upon which he has relied; or has referred to them, where they are published at length in the second volume. In performing this part of his work, the Editor feels himself much indebted, among other documents, to the valuable file of newspapers in the Massachusetts and New York Historical Societies, and in the Charleston Library Society. These papers have been never sufficiently appreciated. They contain the richest and most authentic materials of history; and as they were cotemporary with the times of which they treat, they are certainly to be much depended upon.

The second volume of the Collections, contains sixteen distinct pamphlets and documents, relating to the early history of South Carolina.

Pamphlet I, is a brief description of the province of Carolina; and was published for Robert Horne, as early as the year 1666. Though it more particularly relates to the settlements in North Carolina, it nevertheless, may be considered one of the first publications, which, from the favourable mention it makes of the climate and soil of the entire province, induced emigration to its more southern part. The map that accompanied the original pamphlet, was so very incorrect, that it has been omitted in this collection.

Pamphlet II, was first published at London, in 1682, by Samuel Wilson, secretary to the proprietors of Carolina. It relates particularly to the southern settlement in that province; and contains many useful and necessary instructions, concerning the natural history of the country, together with its laws and government. In place of the abstract of the

charter, which accompanied the original pamphlet, an exact copy of the document itself, has been substituted.

Pamphlet III, is the second charter granted by King Charles II. to the proprietors of Carolina. The present is an exact copy of the original charter, now in the possession of Harvard University. It was deemed unnecessary to publish the first charter, as the second embraces all it contained.

Pamphlet IV, is another description of Carolina, published at London, in 1682. Its author, whose initials are T. A., is supposed to have been one Thomas Ash, a "clerk on board of his majesty's ship the Richmond, sent out in 1680, with particular instructions to inquire into the state of the country." He gives a glowing description of the province, and considers it a "rich jewel, which it has pleased God to add to the crown of his king." This pamphlet is highly valuable as containing the first account we have of the English settlers at Port Royal; their removal, during the next year, to the west bank of Ashley River; and their subsequent settlement at Oyster Point, the present city of Charleston.

Pamphlet V, is a history of Carolina, from its first settlement up to the period of John Archdale's government inclusive. The author is Mr. Archdale himself, whose account of Carolina, has been long relied upon, for its impartial and interesting details. It was first published at London, in 1707.

Pamphlet VI, is an account of Carolina, drawn up at Charleston, in the year 1731, by Colonel Peter Purry and others. Purry was the founder of Purrysburgh, on the Savannah river; and his account of the laws and government of Carolina, together with its commercial resources,

has been always considered extremely valuable. His notices of the soil, climate, and botany of the country, though brief, have been unsurpassed for accuracy.

Pamphlet VII, is a narrative of the proceedings of the people of Carolina, during the memorable revolution, which threw off the proprietary system of government, and assumed that of the crown. This was the first revolution on the North American continent. The history of its commencement, progress, and consummation was perhaps the first lesson which inspired the American colonists with sufficient confidence to declare their independence in '76. The narrative gives a brief summary of the history of the province from its settlement to the year 1719; traces the causes for the disaffection of the people to the proprietors; and proclaims in their declaration to the world, what are their natural and inherent rights, and vindicates their obligations to maintain them.

Pamphlet VIII, is a history of South Carolina up to the year 1761; and has been attributed to Governor Glen of that province. With the exception of Hewit, it is the most complete early history of the state we have. It is divided into ten sections, in which are respectively treated the succession of European settlers in the province; grants of English charters; boundaries and government; taxes and number of inhabitants; the history of neighbouring Indians; nature of climate and soil; barometrical accounts; annual depths of rain; direction of wind; the various modes of cultivating rice, indigo, corn, &c.; maritime trade, exports, imports, &c.

Pamphlet IX, is the chapter relating to South Carolina, originally published in the Political Annals of George Chal-

mers. The importance of embracing this chapter in the collection, will be sufficiently appreciated, when it is recollected that Chalmers was for several years secretary to the proprietors, and was among the first ever permitted to have access to the records in the plantation offices; in which are contained every particular relating to the civil and political history of the colonies. He spent many years in the preparation of his work, during which period he consulted every document which could aid him. His history of Carolina comes up to the revolution of 1719 inclusive; and with the exception of a few anti-republican predilections, may be relied upon as the most authentic account extant. Attached to this pamphlet will be found references to all the authorities he consulted, with many valuable extracts from the original papers in the plantation offices.

Pamphlet X, is an account of the Spanish depredations committed upon Carolina, from its first settlement to the year 1739. The statements made in the account have been carefully compared by the editor, with the accounts contained in the newspapers of that day, and are found to be substantially correct.

Pamphlet XI, is Locke's Fundamental Constitution for Carolina. This may be considered the first instrument ever digested and written out, for the entire and perfect government of a political body. The plan was laid out by Lord Shaftesbury; but the labour of its composition was accomplished by the celebrated philosopher, John Locke. Though impracticable and absurd in many particulars, it undoubtedly suggested to the colonists many hints which were beneficial in their civil and political organization.

Pamphlet XII, is an account of Carolina taken from the History of the British Empire in North America. This work is said to be by J. Oldmixon, who tells us, in his preface, that he read each chapter of his book to the inhabitants of the colonies, whose history he wrote; and that every statement may be relied upon, as he printed nothing which they did not acknowledge as correct. The original work is of immense value; and although it has been referred to in every history of Carolina, there is not a copy of it to be had in this State. The edition from which the present chapter is made, is that of 1708. Another edition published in 1730, with a few unimportant additions, came to hand too late for insertion in this collection.

Pamphlet XIII, is a description of the province of Carolina, by Dr. Milligan, published at London in 1770. It contains an account of the province; and is chiefly valued for its accurate history of the diseases and epidemics prevalent in that climate; together with the best mode of treating them.

Pamphlet XIV, is a chapter from Humphrey's History of the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, containing much interesting matter relating to the history of the church in South Carolina. Incidentally connected with this are many particulars concerning the civil history of that province, collected from the earliest authentic accounts.

Pamphlet XV, is an account of Colonel Moore's expedition against the Indians, in 1704, extracted from an early number of the Boston News.

Pamphlet XVI, is another account, from the same file of papers, of the Stono insurrection.

These pamphlets have been carefully copied from the originals; and both the language and spelling have been exactly preserved.

It will be perceived that Lawson's Voyage to Carolina, which was promised in the prospectus, has been omitted. This, the Editor has done, to give place to other pamphlets which he thought more rare; and also because he had been anticipated in the publication of this pamphlet, by a publisher in Charleston. In its place, however, eleven other pamphlets have been inserted, which have rendered the volumes much larger than were promised.

The Map which accompanies the first volume of these collections, has been copied with the utmost care from the rare maps of Cooke and Mowzon; the one published in 1770 the other in 1772. In addition to preserving the exact outlines of the old copies, many improvements have been made by insertions from more modern performances. As an entire map of South Carolina, the present may be safely pronounced more accurate than any other which has yet appeared.

With these remarks, the editor must now submit his work to the favour of his fellow-citizens. His principal endeavor has been to render his present services useful; and he shall deem it his highest reward to find that he has succeeded in accomplishing this object.

Charleston, October, 1836.

INTRODUCTION.

THE present state of South Carolina, was once a part of that vast territory of the new world, claimed by the Spaniards, under the name of Florida, and by the French, under that of New France. By these respective titles, the country was made known to the people of Europe, at an early period in the fifteenth century. Before, however, its shores had been visited by either the Spaniards or French, Sebastian Cabot, under authority of a patent from Henry VII. of England, had made two voyages to the North American continent; in the last of which, he explored its coast, from the fifty-seventh degree of north latitude, as low south as Albemarle Sound.* Failing in provisions, and a mutiny, in consequence thereof, having taken place among his men, the English adventurer was constrained to return home, without attempting any conquest or settlement in the country which his enterprise had discovered. His voyage, however, was not unattended with favourable results. Reaching home, he is said to have published a map of the coast† he had explored; which, while it traced out

* See Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, by Richard Biddle Esq.—p. 80–86.

† This interesting document, attached to which, was a portrait of the navigator, and a brief account of his voyage, was long suspended in the

the path for subsequent navigators, at the same time, gained for England, a title to North America, on the ground of prior discovery. Unfortunately, these maps, valuable as they are represented to have been, have either perished with time; or, have been destroyed by those who, attempting to rival the fame of Cabot, have been also anxious to rob him of his glory.*

After the completion of his second voyage, Cabot found the zeal of the English monarch for discovery, greatly abated. Apart from being influenced by sordid motives, Henry was prevented by considerations of a public nature, from entering freely into Cabot's plans. He had just seated himself upon a throne, which had been acquired by conquest; the whole country was exhausted by civil commotions; pretenders to the crown, were, even then, springing up on all sides, to dispute the legitimate claim of the House of Lancaster; and to render him still more averse to the enterprise, he was at that time, striving to negotiate an alliance of marriage between his son, and the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain, who claimed the whole American continent, as a

Privy Gallery of the Kings of England, at Whitehall; and is supposed to have perished by the fire which destroyed that edifice, in the reign of William III.—See Grahame's Hist. of United States, Vol. 1. p. 5.—Also, Entick's General Hist. of the Late War, Vol. 1. p. 169.

* It has been generally supposed, that the claim of England to a portion of North America, was founded on the discovery of the Cabots; and in an interesting pamphlet, published in 1755, entitled "The present state of North America," the claim is substantiated on no other grounds. Bancroft, who quotes the "Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons," 1620 and 1621, Vol. 1. p. 250, 251. says, that, "the claim was founded on a grant of the Roman Pontiff, and not upon Cabot's discovery." Bancroft's Hist. U. S. Vol. 1. p. 11.

donation from the Papal See. Disheartened at the treatment he had received in his native land, Cabot now repaired to Spain, and after a series of disappointments, was at length patronised by Charles V. Under the auspices of this monarch, he made an unsuccessful voyage to South America; after which, he returned to England, where, he finally lived to an advanced old age, amidst benefits and honors, worthy of his genius and achievements.*

During the inattention, on the part of England, to substantiate her claim to the discoveries which the Cabots had made, France and Spain were acquiring a footing, in various parts of the western continent. In hopes of acquiring some of the treasures, with which it was supposed to abound; and with a view of discovering its curiosities and resources, those countries, soon became rivals of each other. Though, the acquirement of gold and the other precious metals, was the chief inducement to their adventures, a due regard was, at the same time, paid to the situation and character of the country, as to its fitness for colonization.

It was naturally enough inferred, that, in a latitude, corresponding with that of France and Spain, a climate would be found, in which the health of those countries might be enjoyed, and the same fruits and grains, successfully cultivated. With this view, the southern portion of North America, occupied the exclusive attention of all the Spanish

* Memoirs of Cabot, p. 3.—Smith's Virginia, B. I.—Also, Bancroft's U. S. Vol. 1. p. 9–15., in which every thing relating to Cabot's life, with the authorities for the same, are contained. In England, Cabot received the dignity of knighthood, the appointment of Grand pilot, and a pension that enabled him to spend his old age in circumstances of honor and comfort.—Grahame's U. S. Vol. 1. p. 8.

and French mariners, for many years after its first discovery.

Juan Ponce de Leon, who had been a fellow voyager with Columbus, in his second expedition; and who had greatly distinguished himself in the services of Spain, during the wars of Grenada, was the first who discovered Florida, and gave it a name. Induced, neither by avarice nor ambition; but impelled by a credulity, which belonged to the age in which he lived, Ponce had been led to believe, that there was an island, in the Archipelago of the Bahama, possessed of a fountain, the waters of which, would restore youthfulness to age, and immortality to life. In search of this renovating stream, he sailed from the island of Porto Rico, which he had previously governed with the hardest oppression; and, after encountering a severe storm at sea, was at length driven upon the coast opposite the northern side of the island of Cuba. The country, thus, accidentally discovered, was well calculated to enrapture the senses of the Spanish crew. Every thing they beheld, wore a novel aspect. The woods were every where decked with a profusion of the most brilliant wild flowers, and the whole air was filled with the richness of their odor. In token of this beautiful appearance of nature; or, as some say, in commemoration of his having been thrown upon the coast on Palm Sunday, *Pasqua Florida*,* Ponce de Leon, called the country, Florida; a name, which a part of it

* Purchas (I. p. 769) says it was called Florida, "because it was first discovered by the Spaniards on Palm Sunday, or on Easter day, which they call Pasqua Florida, and not as Thevot writeth, for the flourishing verdure thereof." De Bry and P. Martyr both agree with Purchas. See Holmes' Annals, Vol. I. p. 31.

retains at the present day. In right of his sovereign Charles V. of Spain, he took formal possession of all the continent as far as he could sail, east and west; and by erecting the standard of the cross upon its shore, in the name of God and his holy religion, proclaimed Florida subject to the laws and government of his Spanish lord and master. Having thus given a name to the country, and, in the opinion of the times, subjugated it to the dominion of his monarch, Ponce returned to Spain; and, as a recompense for his services, obtained the government of the "realms he had discovered." Tranported with success, and still hoping to discover the Fountain of Youth, he once more determined to visit Florida. That the magic of its waters might not be confined to the benefit of himself and crew alone, he designed in this voyage to build a fortress and town upon the coast, which might serve to guide the wearied mariner, to the favoured spot, where he might enjoy a never ending life. This philanthropic vision was soon dissipated. He scarcely reached land, when the natives met him, with determined opposition. With poisoned arrows, they killed the greater part of his men; and Ponce himself, receiving a mortal wound, returned to Cuba, only to die a more lingering death. Thus it was that the discoverer of Florida, who had conquered in some of the hardest fought battles of Spain; who had been the famous companion of Columbus; and whose gallant soldiership in the wars of Hispaniola had gained him the government of a part of that island; thus, it was, that he, whose manhood had been spent in achievements of glory, and whose age had been promised with perpetual life to enjoy their recollections, was at last compelled by mortal means, to behold the refreshing stream

which he had so fondly sought, rolling back from his thirst, and leaving him nothing but its poison.*

With motives of a more sordid nature, than those of Ponce de Leon, the coast of Florida was in the year 1520 visited by Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. This Spaniard, having spent his life as a licentiate in the courts of Spain, and being reduced to the severest penury, had entered into an association with six other of his countrymen, to replenish their fortunes, by embarking in the trade of kidnapping Indians for the Spanish mines. Vasquez was not long in procuring men to enlist in an enterprise which promised so much profit. After two or three weeks, equipped with two ships, he sailed from the harbor of La Plata, and after passing by the most distant of the Lucayos islands, he, in a few days, made land in South Carolina, at the mouth of the present Combabee river; which, in honor of one of his crew, who first discovered it, he named "the Jourdon."† The Indians called the country *Chichora*, a name whose euphony has been in

* On Ponce de Leon, I have closely followed Bancroft, who, in an eloquent manner, has summed up all the incidents of Ponce de Leon's life. This author has consulted all the Spanish, French and Italian historians on the subject. See Bancroft's U. S. Vol. I. p. 35–39, also Holmes' Annals Vol. I. p. 31–564, in which much learning on the subject, may be obtained.

† There is some diversity of opinion as to the proper location of this river. Charlevoix, Hist. Nouv. France, I p. xvii. says that Vasquez discovered the cape of St. Helena, at the mouth of a great river, which he called Jourdain; and in his map of the coast of Florida, makes the Jourdain the same as the Santee or Congaree of South Carolina. Dr. Holmes and Mr. Bancroft, who follow P. Martyr's description, fix the Jourdon, at the present Combabee. Upon this point, see P. Martyr, 470, 471. Herrera, Descrip. des las Islas, &c., IV. c. 8. Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 869. Robert's Florida, 27, 28. Univ. Hist. c. XLI. p. 279. Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1. p. 47. Bancroft's U. S. Vol. 1. p. 42.

no wise improved by its modern substitute. They met the strangers with a timidity, which arising more from wonder than fear, was soon followed by an exhibition of joy at their arrival. Gifts were interchanged by them; and while the unsuspecting natives endeavored to entertain their guests, with a liberal hospitality, they were induced in cheerful throngs to enter the Spanish ships, "to view those mighty contrivances, which could bear men so far across the waters."

With a curiosity natural to savages, they soon covered the decks with their numbers, to "behold the many strange things the ships contained." While in this situation, Vasquez ordered the anchors to be weighed, and the sails to be unfurled. Unconscious of their situation, the natives in a few moments found themselves out of all reach of land. In the language of the historian of this transaction, "husbands were torn from their wives, and children from their parents; and, where before, nothing but peace prevailed, the seeds for future wars were now lavishly scattered."* To what a late period, these bitter recollections were maintained, will appear in reading the accounts of the Indian wars, subseqently carried on, against the English colonists of Carolina. Vasquez elated at his apparent success, attempted to make the port of St. Domingo; but as if to punish his perfidy, one of his ships foundered at sea, and the captors and the captives both perished together. Those who escaped in the other ship either pined away and died, or lived to suffer worse than death in Spanish slavery.†

* Cardenas' Hist. Florida, A. D., 1520, says, that Vasquez carried off one hundred and thirty Indians. Holmes' Annals, Vol. I. p. 47.

† See Bancroft's U. S., Vol. I. pp. 42–45. Holmes' Annals, Vol. I. p. 47.

The abandoned wretch, who perpetrated this crime, now returned to Spain, and, instead of receiving the gibbet, as a reward for his piracy, was rewarded by Charles V. with the government of the country, he had so faithlessly robbed of its inhabitants. Emboldened by such approval, Vasquez expended the remnant of his fortune, in preparing another expedition for the conquest of Chichora; but Providence could no longer refuse to mete out to him the punishment which his former inhuman conduct had so justly merited. While making a second voyage to Florida, in 1552, with three ships, the best of them was stranded at the mouth of the very river he had first discovered; his shipwrecked men, to the number of two hundred, were murdered by the natives; and he himself, only escaped, to die at the recollection of a life which had been so ignominiously spent.*

John Verazzani, a Florentine, was the first who visited Florida, at the expense of the French crown. Furnished through the generosity of Francis I., with two ships, the Norman and the Dolphin, he selected the latter, and set out upon an expedition of discovery, from a "disinhabited rock in the Isle of Medeira," on the 17th day of January, 1524. After a tempestuous voyage of fifty days, he was fortunate enough "through the assistance of Heaven, and the goodness of his ship, accompanied with the good hap of her fortunate name, to discover a new land, never before seen by

The original authorities therein referred to, are P. Martyr, 470, 471. Herrera, Descrip. des las Islas, IV. c. 8. Purchas, IV. 869. Roberts' Florida, 27, 28. Univ. Hist. XLI. 379. Cardenas' Hist. Florida, A. D. 1520.

* Univ. Hist. XL. pp. 379, 380. Some authors say that Vasquez with his men were massacred and eaten by the savages. This, however, is denied by Charlevoix. See Holmes' Annals, Vol. I. p. 55.

any man either ancient or modern."* The point of land thus reached by him, appears to have been somewhere about Wilmington, in the present state of North Carolina; a place where the English, sixty years afterward, under Sir Walter Raleigh, made their first attempt at colonizing America.† Spending a few days there, he employed himself in surveying the features of the country, and the manner and disposition of its natives. He soon discovered, that the coast was, what we find it at the present day, "low, shelving, and covered with fine sands." From the number of fires he beheld along the shores, he persuaded himself the country was well inhabited. As his boat approached the land, the natives fled away in affright; but would sometimes stop and look back upon the Europeans with amazement, seeming fixed to the spot, "with marvellous admiration at the whiteness of their skins, and their strange sort of apparel."

After a while, however, Verazzani assured them by signs, that he came as their friend; and having inspired them with courage to approach his men, they gladly came in crowds; and with a hospitality which no wrongs had, as yet, taught them to check, they pointed out to the strangers, the most convenient landing place, and freely offered them many kinds of provisions to eat.

In contrasting the picture of Indian life at that period,

* On Verazzani, I have almost entirely relied for the account of his voyage as given by himself. The title of his account done into English by Hackluyt, is, "The relation of John de Verazzani, a Florentine, of the land by him discovered in the name of his majesty Francis I., King of France. Written at Diepe, the 8th of July, 1524." Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. 3. p. 295.

† Miller's Discourse in N. Y. Hist. Coll. Vol. 1. p. 23.

with its present condition, we cannot but lament, it has gone through a transition, which has reduced that noble race from a state of comparative improvement to one of the utmost degradation.

When Verazzani visited the Floridians, he found them "gentle and courteous in their manners, of sweet and pleasant countenance, and comely to behold." Pursuing a simple and innocent style of living, they numbered a large population. These, according to his account, "were remarkably well favored in limb, having black and great eyes, with a cheerful and steady look, not strong of body, yet sharp-witted, nimble, and exceeding great runners." In their treatment to their women, while the men were respectful and indulgent, they were at the same time so jealous of their virtue, that "they would not suffer them to approach the shore, where the strangers were, within two hundred yards." Their females having few hardships to undergo, were generally "handsome and well favored; of pleasant countenance, and of comely forms;" and so high were their characters esteemed among the nation, that in several instances, whole tribes were under the government of a single individual of the weaker sex. As a proof that a southern climate has a softening influence upon the human character, as well in its savage as in its civilized state, Verazzani tells us, after passing the forty-fourth parallel, that, "by as much as the former (southern Indians) seemed to be courteous and gentle; so much were these (the northern) full of rudeness and ill manners, and so barbarous, that by no signs, that ever we could make, we could have any kind of traffic with them. They clothe themselves with beares skinnes, and luzernes, and seales, and other beasts skinnes. Their food, as far as we

could perceive, repairing often unto their dwellings, we suppose to be by hunting and fishing, and of certain fruits, which the earthe yieldeth of her own accord. They have no graine, neither saw we any kind of signe of tillage ; neither is the land, for the barrenesse thereof, apt to beare fruit or seed. If at any time, we desired by exchange, to have any of their commodities, they used to come to the sea shore, upon certain craggy rocks, and we, standing in our boat, they let downe with a rope what it pleased them to give us, crying continually, that we should not approach the land, demanding immediately the exchange, taking nothing but knives, fish-hookes, and tooles, to cut withall ; neither did they make any account of our courtesie. And when we had nothing, and departed from them, the people showed all signes of discourtesie and disdaine, as were possible for any creature to invent." *

While the Indians of the South were enabled, by the fertility of their soil, to cultivate various grains and vegetables, those of the more northern latitude were constrained to live upon beasts, birds, and fish. The agricultural occupations of the former rendered it necessary to locate themselves within certain limits of territory, which they built upon, and divided into extensive fields ; while the latter, who supported themselves by fishing and the chase, were forced to lead a nomadic life, which allowed no time for improvements of any kind. Hence, amongst the one, we find villages and towns well built, and guarded around with walls—the inhabitants somewhat experienced in the arts, and in their notions of government, law and morality, far

* Hack. Voyage, Vol. 3. p. 300.

advanced in civilization. With the other no such characteristics are to be discovered. Without any fixed habitations to inspire a love for home; with the burial-places of their ancestors "wide scattered over the land," the Indians of the North possessed few motives to render the country dear to them by its associations. They wandered about after the game of the forest, and having no time to devote to the improvements of the rudest arts, they were regardless of society only so far as it served to afford them the means of gratifying their animal wants. On the contrary, the southern Indians, more fixed in their habitations, had at this period made many advances towards civilization.

Their houses were framed of logs and bushes, and ingeniously covered with a mat-work, which very effectually threw off the rain, and defended the inmates from the heat and cold. As the natives possessed no tools, they were obliged to fell the timber they used, by setting fire to its roots. The mode of building their boats, while it affords an amusing evidence of savage ingenuity, at the same time, serves to show the vast facilities which civilization and art have afforded in the accomplishment of labour. "We saw," says Verazzani, "many of their boats made of one tree, twenty foote long, and four foote broad, which are not made with iron or stone, or any other kind of metall, (because that in all this countrey for the space of two hundred leagues which we ranne, we never saw one stone of any sort,) they help themselves with fire, burning so much of the tree as is sufficient for the hollownesse of the boat; the like they doe in making the stern and fore part, untill it be fit to sail upon the sea." Preserving the superstition of some ancient nations, these people observed in their planting, the courses of the

moon and stars; and such was the fertility of the soil which they cultivated, that it yielded them two crops in the year.

In perusing Verazzani's description of Florida, it must be recollected, that the season at which he visited the country, was just such as is calculated to deceive an imagination disposed, as his seems to have been, to view every thing in its most favourable light. March being the season, in our southern climate, when vegetation of all kinds is putting forth, the woods presented to the stranger a greater variety of charms than he had ever beheld. The trees, green and beautiful with the living verdure of our early spring, were bending down with rich clusters of the golden jessamine, which spread their rich perfume over the whole air; while the under-brush embraced a collection of aromatic shrubs and wild flowers, which might be easily mistaken for the rich spices of oriental production. Large stags and hares friskly played about the streams; and the whole forest was enlivened by the notes of birds of a thousand different hues. The contiguous sea, supplied them with an abundance of every sort of fish and water-fowl. Every streamlet that trickled down its yellow waters, seemed to come from a region of gold; and as the enraptured eye of the voyager beheld the precious metals and stones which some of the natives carried about their necks, his warm fancy led him to believe that Providence had indeed brought him into a paradise upon earth.

By every token in their power, the natives strove to convince Verazzani of their friendship. An anecdote which he relates, may serve to exhibit their feelings in this respect. One of his crew attempting to swim ashore, was so beaten and bruised by the waves, as to be driven upon the beach

almost dead. In this condition, the natives ran to his assistance, and embracing him with great kindness, took him to a little hillock, where they began to rub and cheer him until he recovered. Nor did they give over their solicitude about his comfort until they beheld him safely returned to his ship.

In the course of three months, Verazzani had visited the coast of North America, from the thirty-fourth to the fiftieth degree of northern latitude, and during July of the same year, in which his voyage was commenced, he was once more in France.* The account which he published of his discovery, greatly advanced in Europe the knowledge of North America, and gave to France, under the pretext of discovery, a claim to the extensive territory he had visited.†

* Hakluyt asserts, that Verazzani was thrice on the coast of America, and that he gave a map of it to the English monarch. It is the common tradition, that he perished at sea, having been engaged in an expedition of which no tidings were ever heard. Such a report might easily be spread respecting a great navigator, who had disappeared from the public view; and the rumor might be adopted by an incautious historian. It is probable, that Verazzani had only retired from the fatigues of the life of a mariner; and, while others believed him buried in the ocean, he may have long enjoyed at Rome the friendship of men of letters, and the delights of more tranquil employment. Yet, such is the obscurity of the accounts respecting his life, that certainty cannot be established. Ban. U. S., Vol. 1. p. 21.

† In the able pamphlet we have already referred to, entitled "The present State of North America," the claim to North America is made for England, both on the score of prior discovery and actual occupancy. England claimed the country from the discovery of Cabot; France from that of Verazzani; while Spain put in her claim from the discovery of Ponce de Leon. Grotius declares *occupation* the first way of acquiring territory by the law of nations; but one of our poets (Freneau) correctly represents the prevalent opinion of former times, when he says;

It was the intention of Francis I. when Verazzani visited North America, to have planted a colony somewhere upon its coasts. But his long captivity in Spain, and his distresses until the peace of Cambray, totally frustrated that design, and gave to the Spanish crown an opportunity of extending its discoveries in the New World, totally unmolested by any European power.

In this state of affairs, Charles V. of Spain, granted to Pamphilio de Narvaez, a commission to conquer and govern all the province within the limits of the river of Palms and the cape of Florida. Narvaez possessed little of that daring or ability calculated to render him competent for such an enterprise. Having as little courage as virtue, he had rendered himself notorious, in having been most shamefully defeated in an attempt to arrest Cortes in Mexico, against whom he had been sent by the Governor of Cuba. He was not, however, unsuccessful in procuring adventurers for his expedition to Florida.

By the 16th of June, 1527, he was ready to sail from St. Lucar in Spain, with six hundred infantry and a small troop of cavalry. The first land he made in his voyage was at the island of Cuba. At this place, he remained nine months, during which period, his army, from desertion and sickness, were reduced to four hundred foot and twenty horse. With these, however, he departed for Florida, in

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"For the time once was here, to the world be it known;
When all a man sail'd by, or saw, was his own."

See Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1. p. 562. Memoirs of Sebastian Cabot; also, present State of North America, pp. 5–24.

March, 1528, and early in the ensuing month landed at the bay of Apalatchee in that territory. Expressing to the natives the object of his coming, they described to him a village in the interior of the country where much gold was to be had. Thither he directed his course by rapid marches; but was so harassed on the way by skirmishing parties of Indians, that when he arrived at his place of destination, he had but few of his men left, to enjoy their anticipated riches. This village, which the natives called Apalatchee, he reached during the sultry and feverish month of June.

Instead of finding the magnificent town which had been described, Narvaez discovered Apalatchee to be a collection of wretched wigwams, situated in a country so obnoxiously infected by malaria, that his men upon all sides fell victims to its influence. Under these discouraging circumstances, he determined to direct his course towards the sea, there to enjoy a purer air, or, perhaps, with the hope of once more reaching home. After a fatiguing march of eight hundred miles, with a small remnant of his army, alike destitute of horses and provisions, he reached the Gulf of Mexico, somewhere in the vicinity of Pensacola. Here his men, with great difficulty, built themselves a few small boats; and with ropes of horse-hair, and sails made up of the soldiers' shirts, they departed for Mexico in the stormy month of September. Afraid to venture too far into the gulf, they kept the shore for many days; but in attempting to cross the mouth of the Mississippi, Narvaez is said to have perished during a storm in one of his vessels; while another of them with every man on board was wrecked upon an island, where they died of famine. Of the few that escaped in the other

vessels, only four of them survived to tell the fate of their comrades. These, after encountering the most incredible miseries, arrived at Mexico, eight years afterward.*

Nine years after this disastrous expedition, Fernando de Soto, at his own expense, projected the conquest of Florida. This individual, whose life forms so conspicuous a part in the history of the first discovery of America, was the son of a gentleman of generous birth, of Xerez, in Spain. Early in youth he had adventured as a soldier of fortune, under Governor Arias, in the West Indies; and had rendered himself so conspicuous for courage that he was soon rewarded with the command of a troop of horse; and as a still higher mark of distinction was subsequently advanced to a post under Pizarro. He soon became the favorite companion of that famous leader; and during the conquest of Peru, so signalized himself by his genius and valor, as to be considered the first captain in the Spanish army. Returning from that country with an immense accumulation of wealth, he was received in Spain in the triumphant manner of one, whose splendid reputation had preceded him. Soto had sagacity enough to seize upon the occasion, and make it his own. While every voice sounded his name, and while each soldier emulated his glory, he exchanged the sword and target which had served him in the Peruvian wars, for the enormous sum of one hundred and eighty thousand ducats. The daughter of the governor under whom he had first served,

* On Narvaez, see Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1. p. 59., with the authorities therein referred to, viz: Purchas, Vol. 1. p. 769–774., Vol. 5. p. 1499–1528. Roberts' Florida, p. 28. Charlevoix, Nouv. Fran. Vol. 1. p. xix. Prince, 1528. Herrera, d. 4. lib. c. 4 and 7. Also, Bancroft's U. S., Vol. 1. p. 46, wherein all the original authorities are consulted.

became his wife; and the emperor himself bestowed upon him the honorable appointments of governor of Cuba, president of Florida, and Adelantado, or grand marquis of the territories he should conquer.

Never was an expedition undertaken with fairer hopes of success than the one which Soto now proposed. All Spain became mad with the project. Farmers sold their fair vineyards and beautiful cots, and noblemen parted with their jewelry and splendid estates, and all the avenues to San Lucar were filled with volunteers, ready to enlist under so renowned a commander. A large portion of the wealth of Spain was invested in the enterprise; to refund which, magnificent cities in Florida were to be conquered and robbed of their riches.

From those who had thus eagerly proffered their services, six hundred of the "very best and tried men," were selected. Seven fine ships were provided for their transportation, and with a large number of horses, and a herd of swine, Soto, with his pompous retinue, embarked from Seville in the month of April, 1538. On Whit-Sunday, they had made the port of St. Jago,* on the island of Cuba. From this village, which at that time contained only eighty small huts, of "boards and thatch," his soldiers marched on foot to Havanna; whence they departed in May, 1539, and after a prosperous voyage of seven days, arrived at the bay of Spirito Santo, on the western coast of Florida. There his men disembarked, and pitched their tents for the night. To their surprise and amazement they were furiously attacked,

* In the Island of Cuba, Soto found the potatoe, "a fruit, whereby many people are sustained, and chiefly slaves, which fruit is called by the natives *batatas*." Hack. Vol. 3. p. 321.

at day break, on the morrow, by a large body of the natives, who forced them to retire. From this place, says a very accurate historian,* "began the nomadic march of the adventurers; a numerous body of horsemen, besides infantry, completely armed; a force, exceeding in numbers and equipments, the famous expeditions against the empires of Mexico and Peru. Every thing was provided, that experience in former invasions and the cruelty of avarice could suggest; chains for captives, and the instruments of a forge; arms of all kinds then in use, and bloodhounds as auxiliaries against the feeble natives;† ample stores of food, and, as a last resort, a drove of hogs, which would soon swarm in the favoring climate, where the forests and the Indian maize furnished abundant sustenance. It was a roving expedition of gallant freebooters in quest of fortune. It was a romantic stroll of men, whom avarice rendered ferocious, through unexplored regions, over unknown paths; wherever rumor might point to the residence of some chieftain with more than Peruvian wealth, or the ill-interpreted signs of the ignorant natives might seem to promise a harvest of gold. Religious zeal was also united with avarice; there were not only cavalry and foot-soldiers, with all that belongs to warlike array; twelve priests, besides other ecclesiastics, accompanied the expedition. Florida was to become Catholic, during the scenes of robbery and carnage that were to follow. Ornaments, such as are used at the service of mass‡, were carefully provided; every festival was to be

* Bancroft's U. S., Vol. 1.

† Portuguese Relation, c. xi. pp. 494, 495, and elsewhere.

‡ Ibid. c. xix. p. 512.

kept; every religious practice to be observed. As the troop marched through the wilderness, each solemn procession, which the usages of the church enjoined, was scrupulously instituted.*

From Spirito Santo they spent the entire season in marching to the country of the Apalachians, bordering upon the head waters of Apalachee Bay; and during one of their foraging parties, they were fortunate enough to meet with a body of the natives, with one Ortez, a Spaniard, who had been a captive among them since Narvaez left the country nine years before. According to his account the Indians had employed him as the "keeper of their temple;† because that, by night, the wolves did carry the dead corpses out of the same;" which implies that even at that early period those rude people had a proper regard for the decent sepulture of their dead. Ortez could give no account of gold or silver; yet, Soto "determined never to turn back, until he should see the poverty of the country with his own eyes."

It is unimportant to our purpose to trace the various places at which Soto halted during his four years' wanderings through the country.

After having traversed a portion of the present states of Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama and Tennessee, and having encountered every species of hardships and disasters, he at length halted upon the fertile land of the Mississippi in the country of Guachoya. Here, says the same writer from

* Ibid. c. xx. p. 514, and in various places speaks of the friars and priests. Vega. l. i. c. vi. p. 9; l. iv. c. vi. pp. 179, 180, and elsewhere. Herrera in many places confirms the statement.

† In all probability, these temples were nothing more than the *mounds* so frequently to be met with in Indian lands, of former times.

whom we have so liberally quoted, " Soto anxiously inquired the distance to the sea; the chieftain of Guachoya could not tell. Were the settlements extending along the river to its mouth? It was answered, that its lower banks were an uninhabited waste. Unwilling to believe so disheartening a tale, Soto sent one of his men with eight horsemen, to descend the banks of the Mississippi, and explore the country. They travelled eight days, and were able to advance not much more than thirty miles; they were so delayed by the frequent bayous, the impassable cane-brakes, and the dense woods.* The governor received the intelligence with concern; he suffered from anxiety and gloom. His horses and men were dying around him. A tribe of Indians near Natchez sent him a defiance; and he was no longer able to punish their temerity. His stubborn pride was changed by long disappointments into a wasting melancholy; and his health sunk rapidly and entirely under a conflict of emotions. A mortal sickness ensued, during which he had little comfort, and was neither visited nor attended as he should have been. Believing his death near at hand, he yielded to the wishes of his companions, and named a successor. On the next day he died. Thus perished the governor of Cuba, and the successful associate of Pizarro. His miserable end was the more observed, from the greatness of his former prosperity. His soldiers pronounced his eulogy, by grieving for their loss; the priests chanted over his body the first requiems that were ever heard on the waters of the Mississippi. To conceal his death, his body was wrapped in a mantle, and, in the stillness of midnight, was silently sunk in the middle of the stream. The dis-

* Portuguese Account, c. xxix.

coverer of the Mississippi slept beneath its waters. He had crossed a large part of the continent in search of gold, and found nothing so remarkable as his burial place."*

Previous to his death Soto had appointed Lewis Moscoso his successor, to carry on the conquest of Florida. With the remnant of the Spanish army, this commander after incredible sufferings marched as far as Miroya upon the Mississippi a few miles from the mouth of the Red river. Broken up in health and with little hope of life remaining, his men here determined to build a few rude vessels and embark for Mexico. For this purpose, forges were erected; the fetters from the Indian slaves were loosed to make nails, and converting their swords and armour into bolts, they in a few months constructed two or three small vessels. The rising of the Mississippi assisted the launching of these with ease, and its swift flood bearing them rapidly on its course, in seventeen days after their embarkation they reached the Gulf of Mexico; and on the fiftieth day after this, were at the river Panuco. Upon their landing, not more than three hundred men could be enumerated out of the large army which Soto had first carried over to Florida.

Though Spain claimed, under the name of Florida, the entire coast of North America, from the most southern cape, to the furthest north, she had not as yet, within this whole extent of territory, built one fort, or attempted to occupy one harbour or town.† While her people were anxiously following the course of every stream, to find gold amongst

* See Bancroft's U. S. Vol. 1. who relies upon the Portuguese relation, c. xxx. p. 531, 532. Vega, l. v. parti. c. vii. and viii. Herrera, d. vii. l vii. c. iii.

† See, Account of the present state of North America, p. 22.

its sands; and digging every soil to discover the precious metals, it was impossible for them to accomplish any thing like permanent settlements in the new world. To such a people, the honor and glory of having discovered a vast continent, was a far different thing from the labor of settling and peopling it. They could be easily persuaded to risk the dangers of a wide and boisterous ocean, in hopes of returning home laden with wealth; but to expatriate themselves for ever; to leave the homes of their childhood, with all the strong associations connected with them; and to encounter, in return, the difficulties and hardships of an unknown country, occupied by a savage people, was a purpose to which nothing less than the most intolerable oppression at home could drive them. Such, in fact, were the causes which led to the first attempt at colonizing the southern portion of North America.

In the year 1561, Charles IX. of France, anxious to settle the disputes carried on in his kingdom between the Catholics and Huguenots, called an assembly for the purpose at Fontainbleau. During the session of this convention, Admiral Coligni, a zealous Protestant, and at that time one of the ministers of the crown, presented to the French monarch, a petition in behalf of the oppressed Calvinists of Normandy. This movement resulted in the publication of an edict, which declared, that while Roman Catholic ecclesiastics should still continue judges of heresy, all individuals convicted of that abominable crime, should be delivered over to the secular arm; to receive, however, no higher punishment, than banishment from the realm. The penalty at the same time was made reversible, whenever the national council should deem fit. This concession

though evidently a liberal one, from the dominant party of that day, was nevertheless very unsatisfactory to the Huguenots, who could see no reason, why any other power than that of Omnipotence itself, should dare to assume the control of their consciences. They unhesitatingly revolted at the provisions of the edict; in consequence of which, a civil war between themselves and the Catholic party almost immediately broke out in France.*

During this confused state of affairs, Admiral Coligni obtained permission of Charles IX. to plant a colony of Protestants in Florida. This project was no less agreeable to the French monarch, who wished to get rid of his troublesome subjects, than to Coligni, who conceived the hope of becoming the founder, in the New World, of the first asylum for the persecuted and oppressed. To carry his plans into immediate execution, two ships were fitted out at the expense of the crown; and Jean Ribault, "a man expert in sea causes," was appointed to the command of them. Accompanied by some of the young nobility, and many of the veteran troops of France, this commander embarked upon his new enterprise on the 18th day of February in the year 1562. Either fearing to meet with the Spaniards, then at war with his country, or, "desirous to discover islands never before seen," he steered a course entirely different from the one pursued by the former voyagers to Florida. After a passage of two months, he at length reached that country, at a cape of flat land, which in honour of France he named *Cape François*. This place which he describes as being in the thirtieth degree

* Mezeray's Hist. of France. p. 700.—Hakluyt, 3. p. 303–324.—Anderson's Hist. Commerce, 2. p. 117.

of north latitude, was probably one of the promontories or reefs, a few leagues south of the present town of St. Augustine. Coasting thence, in a northern direction, he next sailed a few leagues up the mouth of the present St. Johns, which, from the circumstance of his having discovered it on the first day of May, he called after the name of that month.* With several of his soldiers he landed on the shore; which, as soon as the natives perceived, "with great gentleness" and amity, they ran to meet them, and with presents and a speech from their king, convinced the Frenchmen that their coming was hailed with pleasure. Pleased with so favourable a reception, Ribault determined to leave some memorial of his having taken possession of the country. Accordingly, on the following day, upon an elevated spot near the mouth of the river, he erected a pillar of hard stone, on which was engraved the armorials of France.† In pious remembrance of "God's grace in having conducted them to these strange places, without any danger at all," the crew assembled around the spot, and offered up fervent prayers. As they lifted up their hands and eyes to Heaven, to bless its bounties, the Indians supposing that the strangers worshipped the sun, came to salute them as brethren of their own religion; and one of their chiefs, as a

* This is the same river which the Spaniards called the St. Mattheo, but see the authorities in Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1. p. 82.

† The most indefatigable search has been made to discover this pillar. Dr. Holmes, who felt a great desire to ascertain, if possible, its exact location, wrote to many of his friends upon the subject; but, after the most diligent investigation of the subject, they were none of them able to arrive at any thing like certainty. In all probability, the pillar was taken away or destroyed by the Spaniards; or it may have been removed by Hawkins, who visited the place in 1565.

token of his sincere regard, presented Ribault with a "fan of feathers, dyed with a brilliant red; together with a skin so artfully decorated with pictures of beasts, that they lacked nothing but life to make them real."

With the desire of finding the Jourdain, of which Vasquez had forty years before given so favorable a description, Ribault sailed farther north, and discovered several rivers,* which, from the fancied resemblance they bore to others in France, he named the Seine, the Somme, the Loire, the Charante, the Garonne, the Gironde, the Belle, the Grande, and Port-Royal. In tracing the coast, a severe tempest separated his two ships; and a great fog springing up, they lost sight of each other for a whole day and night. This mishap, however, proved ultimately fortunate. The ship which Ribault supposed to be lost, safely anchored during the storm at the mouth of a river, which, from the "fairness and largeness of its harbor," he subsequently called the Port-Royal river, a name it has borne to the present day. Believing that the northern arm of this river was one of the mouths of the Jourdain, Ribault ordered

* The rivers discovered by Ribault, may perhaps correspond with those known to us at present, and the following may be a correct classification of them.

May	to the	St. John's,
Seine	"	St. Mary's,
Somme	"	Satilla,
Loire	"	Altamaha,
Charante	"	Newport,
Garonne	"	Ogechee,
Gironde	"	Savanna,
Belle	"	May, in So. Car.
Grande	"	Broad,
Port-Royal	"	Port-Royal.

See Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1. p. 567.

the anchors to be cast, and accompanied by his soldiers landed on its northern bank. Their first impression of the country was favorable in the extreme. Mighty oaks, with the moss of centuries upon their heads, spread their branches over whole acres of ground, lofty pines towered above them, and beautiful cedars and palms with their living green, and an infinite variety of trees and shrubs, never before known, grew up on all sides. Rich clusters of grapes overhung the shore, and every variety of fruit was to be seen, ripening in the warm sun of the country. Birds of the gayest and most brilliant plumage enlivened the woods with their melody, and as they listened to the mockbird, imitating the thousand different notes of them all, they imagined they had found their own nightingale of France, with its notes improved by the influence of a softer clime. Large flocks of turkeys, and other wild fowl, flew about the woods, and by the side of every little streamlet numbers of stags and deer were slaking their thirst with its cool waters, or grazing on the luxuriant meadows of the adjoining savannas. The fish were as delightful in flavor as they were different in kind; and one draught of the net was sufficient to feed the whole crew for more than a day. Nor were they less pleased with the climate and physical appearance of the country. While they were enraptured at beholding the sky rivalling in its richness the sunset of Italy, they were not less pleased at the purity and softness of the atmosphere, and at the crystal transparency of the sea. As the commander cast his eye across the waters of the beautiful river before him, and measured the breadth of its mouth, and the depth of its sounding, he persuaded himself, with some truth, that all the "argosies of Venice could ride upon its bosom." Ac-

cordingly, upon Lemon island, a few miles up the mouth of Port-Royal river, he erected a pillar with the arms of France upon it, and in a few days afterward built a fort upon the site, which in honour of Charles IX. of France, he called Charles fort, *Arx. Carolina.**

* Respecting the exact location of Charles fort, there has been the greatest difference of opinion among writers. Oldmixon, Chalmers, and Charlevoix, together with the author of the Universal History, say it was built at the mouth of the South Edisto; Dr. Belknap supposes it to have been on the St. John's, or River of May; while Du Prat commits the egregious error of affirming, that the ruins of the fort are to be seen near Pensacola. Dr. Holmes, of Cambridge, Mass., was very anxious to arrive at correct conclusions on this matter, and accordingly addressed several interrogatories on the subject to his friends in Beaufort, South Carolina. Through the politeness of Miss Elliott of that place, I am informed, that her brother, Dr. R. E. Elliott, "made several excursions about Port-Royal inlet, in search of the memorials of the French colony. Of the pillar which was conjectured to have been planted on Lemon island, nothing can now be found; but there is a fort on the east point of Paris island which corresponds so well with the description of Laudoniere that its identity is almost certain."

About a twelvemonth since, I made a similar search on Eding's island, at the mouth of the South Edisto river. I there found the imperfect remains of a similar fort; together with three pieces of cannon, evidently of a very ancient date. The oldest inhabitants of the adjacent islands had seen these cannon when they were children; and the tradition of their ancestors was, that they had been placed there "time out of mind." Under these circumstances, I was at first inclined to think that Oldmixon and others were right in locating Charles fort at the South Edisto river; but my opinion was rendered doubtful, from the general appearance of Eding's island not agreeing with the description given by Laudoniere of the country around Charles fort. Eding's island is a barren sand-bank; while the island on which Charles fort was situated was remarkable for its fertility.

After much examination upon this question, I am inclined to agree with the late Judge Johnson of this state, that "the evidence of circumstances preponderates in favor of the present site of Beaufort. For, if it be true, and

From this circumstance the country is said to have first taken its present name of Carolina. Before, however, proceeding to lay the foundation of this fort, he was not unmindful of consulting the opinion of his men in reference to his proposed step. Commanding them upon deck, he repeated the motives, which had led them to undertake their enterprise; and justly complimented the valor and courage which had animated them to forego every thing for "the

every thing seems to confirm the opinion, that Charles fort was built 'at the mouth of the Grand Riviere, on an island with a safe and commodious port,' and the name of Port-Royal was given to it, we have the evidence of names and situation to support the opinion that its site was that of Beaufort. The name of Port-Royal is still retained, and the name of Broad river is but the translation of the French epithet, 'Grand Riviere.' Besides which, it is well known, that there is not to be found on any other island extending from north Edisto to Broad river, any port to compare in excellence and depth of water with Port-Royal; and the latitude agrees exactly, for it is actually situated in thirty degrees twelve minutes, and should be rather farther south than farther north, to agree with the latitude given it by Ribault.

"We will conclude with a piece of evidence, well known to those who have been conversant with the southern Indians, who were compelled to retire to the west of Georgia, as the population of South Carolina pressed upon them. They still retain the tradition, that the first place at which they ever saw the whites, was at Coosawhatchie in South Carolina. Now, the Coosawhatchie river is the principal stream that forms the Broad river, and was no doubt among the first that were explored by Ribault's boat. Nor is it at all improbable, that the whole extent of the stream to its discharge into the ocean was known to the Indians by the name which we have borrowed from them—the Coosawhatchie. It is well known with what perfect truth, the tradition of striking events, is preserved among these people." In Ogleby's America, I have seen a plate of Charles fort; but, as the engraver relied upon his own imagination and Laudoniere's description, accuracy of outline cannot be depended upon.

sake of God and his holy religion." He reminded them, that they were now the occupants of a "vast country, filled with every goodly promise; where every man was to be honored, not for his birth or fortune, but on account of his own personal achievements." By bringing to their recollection the history of such ancient men as had founded colonies, "and made themselves immortal in memory," he inspired them with the lively hope, that "their names should also become famous in the books of history." "Consider," said he, "that you shall be registered for ever as the first that ever inhabited this strange country; I pray you, therefore, all to advise yourselves thereof, and to declare your minds freely unto me, protesting that I will so well imprint your names in our king's ears, and the other princes, that your renown shall hereafter shine unquenchable throughout our realme of France."

To this speech his soldiers replied, that "no greater pleasure could betide them than being permitted to concede to his proposal." They declared, that to have been permitted to visit so rich and magnificent a country, had already given them sufficient distinction; but, how much more glorious would it be, to become the founders of a city, which would in aftertimes remain as a proud monument of their daring. Carried away by such extravagant hopes, they intreated Ribault, before his departure, to aid them in the construction of a fort, and to supply it with munitions suitable to its defence. With this, the commander readily complied; and, in a short time, the fort was completed. Twenty-five men were appointed to garrison it; and for the first time, on the North American coast, the flag of a civilized colony might be seen by the approaching mariner.

Anxious that no dissensions should arise among the colonists after his departure, Ribault appointed Captain Albert commander of the garrison. While he charged him to exercise his power by a mild and generous government; he, at the same time, conjured the men to esteem their captain, and to serve and obey him with fidelity; for the faithful performance of which, he made them kneel before him as he invoked "the blessings of God and his holy apostles." These mutual assurances of obedience and protection being exchanged by Ribault and his men, and desirous that his prince should hear some account of his success, he took an affecting leave of the colonists, and departed for France, where he arrived on the 20th of July, 1562.

After his departure, the colonists spared no efforts to make their fort a sure and permanent defence. So completely had they finished it, that they were now enabled to entrust its protection to one half of their men; while the others were engaged in exploring the country, and making themselves acquainted with the natives. During some of these excursions, Albert secured the friendship of several powerful chiefs, and became intimate with the manners and customs of the different tribes under their government. Among the many feasts and festivals which they celebrated, Laudoniere mentions one in particular, as characteristic of the superstitious feelings with which they were conducted. "When," says he, "the time drew neere of celebrating their feasts of Toya, (their deity,) which are ceremonies most strange to recite; king Audusta sent ambassadors to our men, to request them on his behalfe to be there present. Whereunto they agreed most willingly, for the desire they had to understand what this might be. They embarked

themselves therefore, and sailed towards the king his house, which was already come forth on the way towards them, to receive them courteously, to bid them welcome, and bring them to his house, where he sought to treat them the best he might. In the meanewhile, the Indians prepared themselves to celebrate the feast on the morrow after, and the king brought them to see the place wherein the feast should be kept: where they saw many women round about, which laboured by all means to make the place clean and neat. This place was a great circuit of ground, with open prospect and round in figure. On the morrow, therefore, early in the morning, all they which were chosen to celebrate the feast, being painted and trimmed with rich feathers of divers colours, put themselves on the way to go from the king's house, toward the place of Toya: whereunto, when they were come, they set themselves in order, and followed three Indians, which, in painting and in jesture, were different from the rest: each of them bore a tabret in their hand, dancing and singing in a lamentable tune, when they began to enter into the midst of the round circuit, being followed by others which answered them again. After they had sung, danced, and turned three times, they set on running like unbridled horses, through the midst of the thickest woods. And then the Indian women continued all the rest of the day in tears, as sad and woful as was possible: and in such rage they cut the armes of the young girles, which they lanced so cruelly with sharp shells of muskles that the blood followed, which they flung into ayre, crying out three times, *He-Toya*. The king Audusta had gathered all our men into his house, while the feast was celebrated, and was exceedingly offended when he saw them

laugh. This he did, because the Indians are very angry when they are seene in their cerimonies. Notwithstanding, one of our men made such shift that by subtile meanes he gatte out of the house of Audusta, and secretly went and hid himself behind a very thick bush; where, at his pleasure, he might easily discry the ceremonies of the feast.

The three that began the first are named Iawas: and they are, as it were, three priestes of the Indian law: to whom they give credite and beliefe, partly because that by kinred they are ordained to be over their sacrifices, and partly also because they be so subtile magicians that anything that is lost is straightway recovered by their means. Agane they are not onely reverenced for these things, but also because they heale diseases by I trow not what kinde of knowledge and skill they have. Those that ran so through the woodes returned two days after: after their returne they began to dance with a cheerful courage in the middest of the faire place, and to cheere up their good olde Indian fathers, which, either by reason of their too great age or by reason of their naturall indisposition and feeblenesse were not called to the feast; when all these dances were ended, they fell on eating with such greediness, that they seemed rather to devoure their meate than to eat it, for they had neither eaten nor dranke the day of the feast, nor the two days following. Our men were not forgotten at this good cheere, for the Indians sent for them all thither, showing themselves very glad of their presence. While they remained a certain time with the Indians, a man of ours got a young boy for certain trifles, inquired of him what the Indians did in the wood during their absence: which boy made him understand by signes, that the Iawas had made invoca-

tions to Toya, and that by magicall characters they had made him come that they might speak with him; and demand divers strange things of him, which, for feare of the Iawas, he durst not utter. They have also many other ceremonies, which I will not here rehearse, for feare of molesting the reader with a matter of so small importance."

It will be recollected, that, when Ribault left the colonists, the season was too far advanced to admit of planting any thing for their support. Besides this, they had been promised supplies from France, and most of them having been bred to martial professions, were averse to occupy themselves in so slavish an occupation as that of agriculture. The evil consequence of such conduct soon manifested itself.

Ribault, upon his return to France, found the entire kingdom distracted with the troubles of a civil war; his generous patron had been displaced from office; and to crown his misfortunes, every Protestant estate in the realm had been confiscated. Thus situated, he could look nowhere for hope; and rather than become the harbinger of such unwelcome news to the colonists of Charles fort, he resolved not to return until he could procure the requisite supplies. During this interval, the colonists passed through a series of disasters and sufferings of the most pitiable nature. Having consumed their provision too liberally in the first instance, they could now see before them nothing but famine. In this deplorable extremity, they applied to the neighboring Indians for aid. With great humanity, these people shared with the Frenchmen all they had; in doing which, they themselves were constrained to take to the woods, there to live upon mast and roots, until the next harvest should arrive. They at the same

time, stated to the sufferers, that while they regretted their inability to serve them more, they would willingly conduct them to a neighbouring tribe, whose granaries were so well filled with mill, corn, and beans, that they might depend upon receiving a much larger supply than they had given. Capt. Albert deeming it prudent to accept of so timely an offer, immediately set out with the Indian guides for the country of Ouade. This place which was twenty-five leagues from Charles fort, lay upon the present May river, which Captain Albert named La Belle river. Here he found the lands rich in every vegetable production; while the tribe which possessed them displayed "both resolute and warlike natures." They received their visitors with the greatest courtesy; and when the purpose of their coming was made known to them, they loaded the boats of their guests with stores of every thing they had.

Upon his return, Captain Albert was astonished to find the greater part of Charles fort, with most of its provisions, reduced to ashes. During his visit to the Ouade country, the men whom he had left to protect the settlement, disobeying orders, had wandered into the woods in pursuit of game, when a spark communicating itself to the combustible matter of which the buildings were composed, soon destroyed the greater part of the fort. While in this situation, they were again relieved through the kindness of the Indians. Two of their kings hearing of the accident which had taken place, repaired to Charles fort, with a large company of their tribe; and in the course of twelve hours rebuilt what the fire had destroyed. Such anecdotes serve, more than anything beside, to speak the true

character of the aborigines of our country, before the oppression and injustice of the whites had taught them distrustfulness and cunning.

Though the colonists had already suffered much, they were yet doomed to encounter greater difficulties. In the quaint morality of the narrator; "misfortunes, or rather the just judgement of God, would have it, that those which could not be overcome by fire nor water, should be undone by their own selves." Owing to some offences which Capt. Albert had offered his men, a mutiny broke out among them; and "they now suffered their passions so to control their reasons, that they did not give over until they had put their commander to death."

It appears that for a certain disobedence of orders on the part of one Guernache, a drummer of the French bands, Albert sentenced him to be hung without a trial. At this conduct the soldiers openly declared their indignation; and many of them hinted that they would never submit to so shocking an instance of severity. Albert in return threatened to punish all murmurers by a similar fate to that of Guernache; and actually condemned one La Chere to be starved on a desert island not many miles from the fort. By men who had risked so much for liberty and freedom of opinion, such conduct could not be tolerated. In an assembly convened for the purpose, they calmly reviewed the conduct of their commander, and after a summary trial resolved upon his death. Having executed their resolve; their next step was the election of another to supply his place. With a proper republican spirit, the question was put to the vote; when Nicholas Barre was declared "worthy

of their commendation; and one who knew well how to quit himself of the charge." Barre was accordingly proclaimed commander; and in a short time, says their historian, "all rancour and disaffection ceased among the men, and they lived peaceable one with another."

By this time the colonists at Charles fort had explored most of the country in the vicinity of Port Royal; and the novelty of their adventure having worn away, added to the apprehension that Ribault had deserted them, their former enthusiasm became so cooled, that they now determined to abandon Florida, and to return once more to their native soil. As they contemplated the project, their feelings became frenzied, and they could see nothing but the most felicitous consummation of their plans. Their anxiety to return among their kindred and friends, measured the three thousand miles of ocean, over which they were to cross, as but a mile; and their hopes had already passed over the waters and converted its breezes into a prosperous course. Full of anticipated pleasures, they now began to build a vessel to convey them home; and though none of them had any previous skill for such an undertaking, necessity soon enabled them to construct a small brigantine for the voyage. The hull being completed, they were at a loss in what manner to supply themselves with sails and cordage; and while in despair of obtaining these, they were happily relieved through the ingenuity of the same Indian king who had not long before generously supplied them with provisions. While this friendly chief made them ropes of grass, and caulked their vessels with the moss and tar of the country, the Frenchmen manufactured sails of their shirts and other linen which they could collect among themselves. With these rude materials, they

were in a few weeks ready to depart for France; and the winds just at that time blowing fair for their purpose, they were induced to believe, that Providence itself had interposed to conduct them out of "this wilderness into the land of their fathers."

Taking an affectionate leave of the friendly natives, and having presented them with such mementoes as they could conveniently spare, they weighed anchor, and in a few hours were "safely riding upon the waters at a goodly distance out of sight of land." Before they had accomplished one third of their voyage, an unfortunate calm overtook them at sea; during which, they made not more than twenty-five leagues in the course of three weeks. To heighten their misfortune, their provisions began to fail them; and for a long time they were obliged to consume not more than twelve grains of corn as their daily sustenance. Nor did this miserable allowance last them long. Their food and water after awhile failed them altogether; and while some of them died under these agonizing privations, others of them feebly sustained life by eating their shoes and leather jerkins, and quenched their thirst by drinking salt water, or their own urine. The few who yet lived, were doomed to undergo still greater sufferings. A severe storm overtook them in their miserable condition. Their vessel, half filled with water, was continually threatened with destruction by the waves breaking in on all sides around them; while the men exhausted for want of nourishment, and with every hope extinct, threw themselves upon each other, and gave up all as lost. In this desperate extremity Lachan, one of the crew, attempted to animate his comrades to one more effort. He persuaded them that a few more days would bring them in sight of land; and if their hopes were then disappointed, he would

agree to suffer with them any fate which Providence might decree. The crew became cheered at this promise; and once more exerted their feeble strength in trimming their shattered vessel. Three days passed away, during which time they tasted nothing but salt water. In the agony of despair they laid themselves down to die; when Lachan once more addressed them. He proposed that it was better for one of them to die, and be eaten by the others, than that all should perish by hunger. The proposition was assented to. Lots were cast, and Lachan became the victim doomed to the sacrifice. He bravely bared his neck to the knife, and died without a struggle. His flesh was equally divided among his fellows—"a thing, says the narrator, so frightful to narrate that my pen is loth to write it."

Their hunger satisfied by this shocking offering, they were now about to die for want of water; when God of his goodness turned their sorrow into joy, by bringing them in sight of land. In this condition they were discovered by an English bark, whose commander kindly relieved their distress, and after having put the most feeble of them upon the coast of France, he took the remainder of them with him to England. It is supposed that the representations which these miserable men gave of the country they had left, induced the English during the succeeding century to attempt the settlement of its coasts.

Peace having been once more restored to France, and Coligni being reinstated, he now ventured to present to his sovereign's notice, the true condition of the colony which Ribault had established in Florida. He urged the cruelty of permitting these men to remain there, without succour; and finally prevailed upon the king to send out three

ships to ascertain what had become of them. Laudoniere, who had been with Ribault in his first voyage, was appointed to the command of this expedition. Recruits from all parts of France were invited to join him, and the most liberal promises of gain were held out to all who would do so. The country was represented as filled with every thing that imagination could wish for, and its climate was believed to prolong life to double its usual allotment. Emigrants were not wanting to embark in such an enterprise, and Laudoniere had the happiness to behold his required number of men completed in the space of a very few weeks. Under instructions from his patron Coligni, he engaged one De Morgues, an excellent painter of that day, to accompany the expedition, with the view of executing drawings of the new and curious objects with which Florida was supposed to abound.

Thus equipped, Laudoniere departed from France on the 22d of April, 1564, and on the same day of the following June safely arrived at Cape François, about thirty leagues from the River of May. This river he called the Dolphin, from the vast number of that fish he discovered in its waters. From the Dolphin he sailed for the River of May, at which Capt. Ribault had erected a pillar of stone. The Indians of the country, at the head of their Paracoussi or king, received the French with loud salutations of friendship, and as an evidence that they had recollected the strangers in their absence, took them to see the pillar which Ribault had erected. To the agreeable surprise of the Frenchmen, they found it still standing, crowned with chaplets of laurels, and its base encircled with baskets of corn. As a witness that he wished the most friendly relations to exist between his peo-

ple and the French, the paracoussi presented Laudoniere with a wedge of massive silver; in return for which he distributed among them such articles as he thought most suitable to their condition. Night coming on, he repaired to his ship, but renewed his visit on the morrow.

The picture which he gives of the state of the paracoussi and his subjects, bespeaks for them a degree of civilization to be found among few Indian nations of our time. "We found him," (the paracoussi,) says he, "under the shadow of an arbour, accompanied with fourescore Indians at the least, and apparelled at that time after the Indian fashion, to wit, with a great hart's skinne, dressed like chamois, and painted with devices of strange and divers colours, but so lively a portraiture, and representing antiquity with rules so justly compassed, that there is no painter so exquisite that could finde fault therewith; the naturall disposition of this strange people is so perfect and well guided, that without any aid and favour of artes, they are able by the help of nature onely to content the eye of artizans, yea, even of those which by their industry are able to aspire unto things absolute."

With a view to select a favourable site for his settlement, Laudoniere despatched his lieutenant Ostigiri to explore the country in the vicinity of the river. Everywhere he went he found the Indian population considerable; and his reception among them at the same time evinced the humanity of their dispositions, and the abundance and richness of their country. They occupied excellent houses built of wood and clay, and around their granaries, which were well stored with pease and corn, he found large fields luxuriantly bearing two crops in the year. In their carriage he found

the men proud and erect, and the comeliness of the females was not surpassed by that of the same sex in Europe. They wore dresses of richly embroidered skins, and not a few of them were covered with a beautiful cloth of their own workmanship. And both men and women observed the utmost cleanliness in the arrangement of their persons and habitations. From the observance of this rule, coupled with the simplicity of their diet and living, it is not to be wondered that many of them were found over a hundred years of age.* After spending a few days in searching out the coast to the mouth of the River May, Laudoniere determined to return and plant his colony at its mouth. A little retired from the northern bank of this river, his men discovered a hill; upon which they erected their standard, and having offered up thanksgivings to God for his many mercies, they "with great courage and praiseworthy resolution," commenced the foundations of the second fort that had been ever planted on the North American coast.

How delighted they were with their new situation appears in the description which Laudoniere gives of it. "Upon the toppe of the hill," says he, "we found nothing else but cedars, palme, and bay trees of so sovreigne odour, that balme smelleth nothing like in comparison. The trees were enuironed rounde about with uines bearing grapes, in such quantitie, that the number would suffice to make the place habitable. Touching the pleasure of the place,

* It is to be observed that Verrazzani, Soto, and Laudoniere all agree in their history of the manners and customs of the Indian tribes of Florida. I have purposely repeated their several descriptions; and have rather endeavoured to preserve their coincidence of opinion and facts, than to render their history interesting for its noble incidents.

the sea may be seene plane and open from it, and more than five great leagues off; neere the River Belle, a man may beholde the meadows diuided asunder, into isles and islets interlacing one another. Briefly, the place is so pleasant, that those which are melancholicke would be inforced to change their humour."

On this pleasant spot the French colonists built their fort, which in honor of the Prince Charles, they named fort Caroline. Remains of this fort have been since discovered; its form was triangular, and the walls were built of fagots, sand, and turf. Having finished fort Caroline, Laudoniere now turned the attention of his men to searching for gold and other treasures of the country. In the course of a month or two they explored the greater part of the surrounding territory, and made the acquaintance of several powerful tribes of Indians; most of these were subordinate to one great king, but from some trifling cause, many of them were at war with each other. This gave Laudoniere an opportunity of observing many of their warlike practices. In all preparations of war, they first invoked the sun to lead them to victory; and no Indian of the tribe ever made a movement against his foe, without the unanimous consent of the chiefs in council. When any of their people were wounded, they wrapped moss about the sore part, instead of napkins; and by the application of healing gums, they soon restored the diseased part to perfect health. They lamented the death of their relations with doleful howlings; and revenged their loss, if occasioned by the enemy, by inflicting wounds upon themselves, and swearing by their own blood to shed that of the offenders.

To remain at peace with tribes thus continually at war

with each other, was impossible; for a long time, Laudoniere endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation of their disputes; and when he failed in this, he even attempted to force it upon them. The attempt proved fatal. Instead of gaining the favor of any tribe, he lost the friendship of them all; and necessity at this time driving him to rob their granaries, he lost the entire confidence of these rude but sensitive people.

Added to this unfortunate occurrence, his own men now became dissatisfied with their situation. Laudoniere had a few days after his arrival upon the coast, returned two of his ships to France. Some of his men complained, that he had violated his faith in not returning them also; and began to accuse their commander of wishing to aggrandise wealth upon their own misfortunes. During this disaffection, one La Roquette, a soldier of the fort, conceived the idea of transplanting his commander. He pretended an acquaintance with magic, and affected by this supernatural art, to have discovered a mine of gold and silver not very far up the river. He promised to all who would accompany him, upon forfeiture of life, an immense and sudden accumulation of wealth. Such a promise was too alluring to fail in its purpose. The men consented to mutiny: and La Roquette, to make his plans more certain, employed one of the crew to poison Laudoniere. Failing in this, he even conceived the horrible design of blowing up the fort. Fortunately, his plans were discovered. The ringleaders were brought up before their injured commander; and sentenced to perpetual banishment from the fort.

In reviewing the constant disaffection and repeated acts of treachery, on the part of the French colonists, many

things are to be urged in extenuation of their crime. It must be recollected that their company was made up of men from every grade in life; and scarce any two of them had previously followed the same pursuit in life. Thus circumstanced, there was necessarily wanting that concert of opinion and action, the existence of which was essential to their well-being. Besides this, without female society, they could form no family circles to attach them to the soil, nor to create such a place a home. This was an undoubted error in the colonization of the country, and its ill effects soon became too manifest not to be appreciated by the founders of the colony.

Failing to find in the country the gold which had been promised, and having no occupations to engage them, some of the men determined to make their fortunes by piratical cruises against the Spaniards of the West India islands. Passports were, however, necessary to enable them to traverse the seas in safety; and when Laudoniere refused these, they placed him in prison, and by compulsory means obtained them of him. Having now obtained their ends, they departed in a stolen vessel for the West Indies, and so far succeeded in their purpose as to take prisoner the governor of Jamaica. The governor promised a vast store of wealth for his ransom, and the Frenchmen, entrapped by the promise, were persuaded to permit him to send two little boys as messengers to his wife. Instead of instructing her to forward the price for his freedom, he commanded her during the night to order all the vessels in port to his rescue. This was done, and before the pirates could discover their situation, the Spaniards had recovered their ships, in one of which their governor was then. The French brigantine happily made its escape; while the pilot, whom the mutineers

had forced away from Charles fort, seized this opportunity of directing the vessel back to Florida. When brought before Laudoniere, they could offer no excuse, and after a strict and impartial trial they were condemned to die the death of pirates. It appeared, however, that a few of the men had been suborned. These he forgave, but the principal ringleaders were condemned to be hanged as an "example to posterity." After a solemn address to the culprits, in which he solemnly impressed upon his men the blackness of their perfidy, the sentence was executed upon them.

Having totally neglected to cultivate any kind of grain, the provisions of the garrison began rapidly to fail, while Laudoniere, seeing no prospect of receiving supplies from France, determined to return for that country with his company. To accomplish their purpose the colonists had already provided a few miserable brigantines, and were about to embark, when Sir John Hawkins, an English slave-merchant, hove in sight. This individual humanely shared his provisions with the suffering Frenchmen; and even supplied them with one of his own vessels to accomplish their contemplated voyage. Laudoniere ungratefully attributed Hawkins's generosity to unworthy motives; and though accepting of his favours, he could not avoid suspecting they were only proffered that the English might be enabled to supplant the French during their absence. While doubting in his mind how to proceed, his men were not a little alarmed by the appearance of a fleet off the coast: in a moment the fort was put in a posture of defence, when to their great surprise, they discovered the French flag floating from the masts of the approaching vessels. In a few more hours the crew had landed, and it now appeared

that Ribault had arrived to assume the command; bringing with him supplies of every kind; "emigrants with their families, garden seeds, implements of husbandry, and the various kinds of domestic animals." *

Mutual explanations, to their mutual satisfaction, soon took place between Laudoniere and Ribault; but the former refused any longer to continue in command at fort Caroline. The assurances of the Indians were again repeated, that the country produced gold, and they would point out the mines; and Ribault resolved again to repair and garrison the fort, and to make the permanent establishment of the colony at this place.

But, on the 4th September, 1665, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, six Spanish vessels were seen to enter the road and drop anchor near the four large ships. It was a fleet commanded by Don Pedro Menendez de Avilez, an officer celebrated by his countrymen as one of the greatest heroes of the New World; and the object of his mission was the extirpation of the heretics who had polluted, by their tread, a country which had been liberally dealt out to Catholics, as a part of the patrimony of St. Peter.

This singular crusade is marked by a variety of striking incidents.

The legitimates of France and Spain, Charles the Ninth, and Philip the Second, were, at this time, at perfect peace; and the latter, finding leisure to turn his attention to the

* On Ribault and Laudoniere's settlements, see Hackluyt's voyages, Vol. 3. p. 300–360. For the remaining history of fort Caroline, I must confess myself indebted to researches of the late Judge William Johnson of South Carolina. His account is in a great measure from Charlevoix, who, for the most part, has relied upon the best authorities of his day.

settlement of the Floridas, began to experience the most sensible qualms at his having so long deferred the good work of Christianizing the aborigines—the very purpose for which these territories had been bountifully bestowed upon him by the legitimate head of the church. Menendez was selected to conduct the enterprise; and, in consideration of bearing the greatest part of the expense himself, he was vested with the dignity of a Spanish adelantado, and the hereditary government of the Floridas. It was in the midst of the preparations for the undertaking, that the intelligence arrived, that the Huguenots had made an establishment on the coast, and the Propaganda expedition immediately assumed all the characteristics of a proclaimed crusade. Clergy and laity crowded into his service, and voluntary contributions from the sovereign and individuals soon swelled his force to near three thousand men, and near twenty vessels, some of them of very considerable force. Heaven, however, could not smile upon the undertaking; and before he reached Porto Rico, storms and tempests had reduced his force to less than one-third. It was now seriously deliberated, whether they were strong enough to proceed, for they had learned from the ministers of Charles, or from other quarters, that the reinforcement under Ribault had preceded them. But, either the fanaticism or the policy of their commander, turned even their misfortunes into a reason for prosecuting their voyage. "The Almighty," said Menendez, "has thus reduced our force, that his own arm might achieve the work."

We have already seen that Ribault had reached fort Caroline some days before the arrival of Menendez. But the latter appears to have been nowise deficient in prompt-

ness of design, or vigour of execution. He resolved to surprise the French ships that lay in the outer road, and then proceed as after circumstances should dictate, in his designs upon the fort. The French captains charge him with most dastardly cunning, in endeavouring to lull them into security, by approaching them under the mask of friendship; a mask very easily assumed, considering the pacific relations then existing between their sovereigns.

But, whatever was his conduct in this respect, the attempt did but succeed; the French ships eluded his grasp by putting to sea; and he thought it prudent, after thus betraying his views, to retire from a garrison which he could no longer hope to surprise. Falling down the coast, below the mouth of the river St. John's, he made choice of the present site of St. Augustine, and laid the foundation of this formidable fortress, and of the first permanent establishment on the North American continent. His intention was to protect his present command by fortifications, and await the arrival of reinforcements.

Ribault now promptly resolved to pursue Menendez; and, contrary to the advice of his officers, he crowded his whole force into his shipping, leaving in fort Caroline his stores, provisions, women and children, the sick of the expedition, and a garrison under Laudoneire of about eighty men, not above twenty of whom were perfectly effective.

The heavy ships which had kept the sea, were at hand to unite in the expedition; and Menendez' vessels were found moored in a situation where their fate was inevitable. Two hours more would have been sufficient to place his whole command at the mercy of his enemy; but, one of those sudden tempests, so common in those latitudes,

arrested the designs of Ribault, and drove his vessels down the Florida Gulf. This event gave an entire new aspect to the fortunes of Menendez. Knowing that some days would probably elapse before Ribault could return to fort Caroline, he resolved to open his way through the forests, and attack that fort before it could be prepared to resist him.

Accordingly, with five hundred picked men, carrying eight days' provisions, he took up the line of march for the French post, and arrived in the forests which surrounded it and which concealed his approach, before Laudoneire had a suspicion of his having left St. Augustine.

Dark and cruel was the superstition which appears to have clouded the minds of these bold adventurers. The massacre of the heretics had been deliberately determined on from the commencement of this expedition; and now, solemnly, on bended knees, in prayer and praises to the Almighty, were his men prepared for this unhallowed sacrifice. From prayer they rushed to slaughter, and a feeble and unarmed garrison fell an easy prey to their pious fury. The humanity of Menendez extended no further than to spare the women, and the boys that had not reached fifteen years; but his men, or their commander, appear to have amused themselves by preserving many of the garrison for a more solemn sacrifice. After the heat of battle had subsided, the living and the dying were, indiscriminately, suspended to the boughs of a tree, and their bodies left a prey to the birds of the air.

The truth of this achievement cannot be questioned, for Menendez himself commemorated it by a monument, intended to transmit the meritorious deed to posterity. At

the root of the tree was erected a stone, on which he had inscribed these words—"I do not do this as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." Laudoniere and about twenty of his men, effected their escape by leaping from the parapet of the fort and flying to the woods. Ribault had left his son with some inferior vessels in the harbour; these dropped down beyond the reach of the cannon as soon as they discovered the fate of the fort, and fortunately succeeded in taking Laudoniere and his few followers on board. Some others remained in the wood, and were hunted like wild beasts. If taken, they were sold into slavery. What became of the women and children we do not learn; but they had nothing to expect from the tender mercies of their captors, unless saved by a hypocritical conversion. The number of those who were saved from the sword is stated at seventy.

But this tragedy was trifling when compared with that which followed.

Menendez, apprehensive that Ribault would reach St. Augustine in his absence, and retaliate by the capture of this place, and of his shipping, had scarcely terminated his butcheries at fort Caroline, when he hastened back with a part of his forces to the protection of his own post. Here, to adopt the language of his historian—"All the world ran to meet the conqueror of the heretics, with the cross, and the clergy singing *te deum*, and conducting him in triumph."

It is not to be wondered at, if such a reception, conducted by the ministers of religion, and sanctified by the presence of its most revered symbols, should whet his appetite for the enjoyment of other triumphs similar and greater.

The fate of Ribault's fleet had now been decided. After struggling for several days in the Florida channel, they were all dashed to pieces on the coast south of St. Augustine, near Cape Canaverel. Some arms and a small supply of provisions were saved to them—every thing else was swallowed up. Thus situated, there remained to them but one course to pursue; this was, to thread the coast northerly and reach fort Caroline, if practicable; if not, to submit to the necessity of surrendering themselves to the Spaniards. With this view, they appear to have formed themselves into two bodies, one of which preceded the other a few days' march. The first, arriving at the bank of a small river, twelve miles south of St. Augustine, found themselves arrested in their progress; and before they could prepare the means of transportation, information was communicated to Menendez that a number of white men were so situated. Accompanied by a detachment of forty soldiers, and a boat, Menendez proceeded to reconnoitre the party, and from a soldier who crossed the stream by swimming, to his great relief, he learned the fate of Ribault's fleet.

What follows, is differently related by the French and Spanish historians; but, after all the gloss that the latter have shed over the conduct of Menendez, he appears to have been guilty of an act of deliberate tranquil barbarity—at the bare relating of which, the human heart freezes. They admit, that two hundred men were brought over the river, by tens, all bound together, and when conducted beyond the sight of their comrades, on the opposite bank, "at a line marked with his cane on the sand," were cruelly butchered. Nor were the rites of selpulture allowed to them—but, their bones were left to bleach upon the sands.

A few days after the remaining party appeared, with Ribault himself at their head; and Menendez again repaired to the banks of the river, but attended by a more respectable escort. A considerable negotiation ensued, and a large ransom was offered, but Menendez, deliberately pacing the margin of the river, and permitting the negotiators to go and return as often as they pleased, nay, even setting refreshments before them, gave them to understand that they must surrender at discretion. It is even related, that Ribault himself came over to negotiate, attended with five or six of his officers; and after being respectfully received by Menendez, and food set before him, was conducted to the plain where the bodies of his two hundred men still lay exposed, and was informed of the chastisement inflicted on those who had been left at fort Caroline—still he was required to surrender at discretion.

It was in vain that these unfortunate men urged, that the two monarchs were not only at peace, but in alliance. All the answer they could obtain was—"It is true that the *Catholic* French are our allies and friends; but it is not so with the heretics; on them I wage a war of extermination, and I will wage it with the utmost cruelty upon all those of this sect that I meet with by land or sea; and in this I serve both monarchs. I came to Florida to establish the Roman Catholic faith. If you are satisfied to abandon yourself to my mercy, and to deliver up your arms and ensigns, I will do with you what God shall inspire me. If not, choose your own course, but do not hope from me either friendship or peace. I have been ordered by my king, to conquer and people Florida, and establish there the gospel."

Ribault was permitted quietly to return to his companions

in misfortune, and the painful alternative was submitted to their choice. Flattering himself with the hope that Menendez would accept a ransom, he, with about one hundred and fifty others, resolved to submit themselves to their enemy: but the remainder, about two hundred in number, determined rather to brave every danger.

Ribault was compelled to submit to the indignity of being tied with nine others, and met with the common fate of all who were silly enough to surrender their arms. Eight hundred in all, it is said, perished; but the number, even including the sick at the fort, would scarcely have equalled that amount. The French had no interest in reducing the numbers; and the Spaniards thought it a boast to have destroyed so many heretics.

The two hundred who had the prudence to preserve their arms, finally met with a milder fate. Returning to the wrecks of their vessels, they there furnished themselves with many articles gathered from the hulks, and constructed a small fort for their defence, while they proceeded to build a vessel competent to convey them to some more hospitable shore. But their persecutor was not yet sated with blood. His conduct had all along been regulated by the conviction, that his victims were shut in the peninsula too firmly to escape him; and now, hearing from the Indians of the measures they were prosecuting, he resolved to anticipate them. Accompanied by an armed force and attended by some small vessels, he threaded the Florida coast until he reached the resting-place of the fugitives. Their vessel was far advanced, but their fort was only intended to defend them against an enemy that had not fire-arms. They were, therefore, obliged to abandon it, and flying to an elevated

ground, they resolved to sell their lives dearly, if they could not repulse the enemy. A negotiation ensued, and a surrender agreed on, upon a solemn pledge of security and kind treatment. Their commander, however, with about twenty, resolved rather to perish in the desert than trust themselves to their cruel enemy; and, leaving their companions in the night, sought safety in the thickets. Whatever became of them is unknown. The rest either established themselves in Florida, or found their way home —the poor remains of the gallant company that had followed Ribault from France, many of them men of wealth and distinction. It is very remarkable, that of all the number sacrificed by Menendez, although the question was regularly propounded to the unfortunate victims, of what religion are you? only eight saved their lives by acknowledging themselves Catholics.

This is the account furnished by the Spanish historians, and even by the brother-in-law of Menendez. But the French writers of the day charge the Spaniards with having treacherously promised Ribault and his companions life and security, and violated that promise as soon as the French had surrendered their arms. They further assert, that he was flayed alive, his body burnt, and his stuffed skin sent to Europe, a worthy present to the barbarian who then ruled half the world! and that the most horrid and wanton barbarities were practised upon the wretched captives. Certain it is, that when the news reached France, it was productive every where but at court, of the keenest indignation. Nor was this feeling confined to the Protestants; it extended itself to the Catholics, and by one of that faith was it shortly after most signally avenged.

The Chevalier Dominique de Gourgues, a character that would grace an epic poem, was a Gascon gentleman, born at Mont Marsan, county of Cominges, of a respectable Roman Catholic family.

The youth of De Gourgues had been spent in arms, and he had acquired a reputation not surpassed by any subaltern officer in France. A soldier of fortune, he passed from service to service after the manner of that age, until an adventure, which occurred to him whilst serving against the Spaniards in Italy, appears to have fixed him in irreconcilable hostility to that nation. For an instance of obstinate bravery, which ought to have ensured him the esteem of a generous enemy, he was consigned to the Spanish galleys. A capture by an Algerine, under any other circumstances a misfortune, broke the chain which confined him to this most disreputable of employments; for the prize was pursued, overtaken, and recaptured by a vessel of Malta, and the admiration of the brave, secured to De Gourgues his freedom and honourable employment. De Gourgues now took to the sea service, and a long absence in foreign seas, together with the accumulation of wealth, leaves little doubt of his having employed this interval in indemnifying himself for the indignities received from the Spaniards.

He had retired to private life when the news of the massacre by the Spaniards in Florida revived the half-extinguished resentment which his injuries had excited. De Gourgues immediately sold his property, vested the proceeds, and even incurred large debts in equipping two galleys and a tender, under the pretext of employing them in the African trade. The pursuits of the French, and the habits of their government at this time, were exemplified

by the commission under which he sailed, which authorized him "to catch negroes on the coast of Africa."

De Gourgues communicated his design to no human being; but he had the precaution to secure the services of one of Laudoniere's soldiers, who had resided long enough in Florida to acquire some knowledge of the country and the language of the natives. He also engaged the services of one hundred and fifty picked men, many of them gentlemen adventurers; and having equipped his vessels with every thing necessary for a cruise of twelve months, set sail from Bourdeaux, the 2d August, 1567.

His voyage was not fortunate; and the better to conceal his design, he found himself obliged to take a very circuitous course, so that he approached Florida by doubling the westward of the island of Cuba.

It was not until he reached this point, that he acquainted his crew with the real object of this long and perilous voyage. In an impressive speech, he exhibited to them the disgrace that their nation had sustained in the eyes of the world, by suffering such wrongs to remain so long unrevenged; and painted in such striking colours the enormities that the Spaniards had been guilty of—that his crew with one voice declared their readiness to follow him in the enterprise.

The rest of his voyage consumed but little time. So entirely unsuspicious were the Spaniards of attack, that on passing fort Caroline, now called by them fort St. Matthew, De Gourgues received a salute. Passing on to the Altamaha, he entered the mouth of that river, and as his galleys drew but little water, and were provided with oars, he found no

difficulty in ascending the river. Here he met with a great number of natives; and Laudoniere's soldier being recognized by them, they readily conjectured that the commander was bound on no friendly errand. A league was soon entered into to attack the fort, and only deferred until it could be reconnoitred by one of the officers of the expedition.

De Gourgues was not appalled at the report of this officer; notwithstanding that the fort had been much improved by the Spaniards, supported by two other works opposite each other on the river, and garrisoned with four hundred men—two hundred in the principal, and one hundred in each of the subordinate works.

The attack was immediately resolved on, and a rendezvous agreed on at the mouth of a stream twelve miles north of the river. The affair appears to have been conducted with secrecy, fidelity, and spirit; and the Europeans attribute to the Indians a degree of bravery in the assault, which it would be impossible now to excite them to.

The small forts on the north and south sides of the river were carried by assault, and the men mostly put to the sword. Then waylaying, with his Indians, all the avenues of escape from fort Caroline, De Gourgues proceeded to a deliberate examination of the difficulties of the undertaking. It was soon discovered that it must be carried by escalade, and having brought with him the implements necessary for such an emergency, he was engaged in preparing his ladders, when the garrison precipitated their fate, first by an imprudent sally, and then by a desperate attempt to gain the thickets. Here De Gourgues had prepared for them the

most certain destruction; for the woods were full of exasperated Indians, and not one of them escaped to tell of their disasters.

Thus far there is much to admire, and according to the received opinions of that day, relative to garrisons carried by assault, nothing to blame. But there were some prisoners made, and the stone set up by Menendez being still standing to commemorate his barbarity to the French prisoners, unfortunately De Gourgues was led to imitate as well as execrate the barbarous example. Could retaliation always fall on the actual offender, even the wise and good might often retaliate. His prisoners were all suspended on the same tree that had borne his countrymen; and instead of the stone of Menendez, was substituted a pine plank by De Gourgues, inscribed with, "I did not do this as to Spaniards, nor as to infidels, but as to traitors, thieves, and murderers."

De Gourgues demolished the forts and returned to France; not to enjoy the admiration of his countrymen, but to be pursued by the Spaniards, and persecuted by his own government. He lived in obscurity and dependence; for his efforts to fit out his expedition had involved him deeply in debt; and when at last he was invited into honourable, and to him, pleasant service, by the king of Portugal, against the Spaniards, he did not live to enter on his command.

Thus ended all the views of the French nation upon Florida. The attempts of the English to settle a portion of the country, will be found in the several documents collected together in these volumes.

AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE COLONIES OF

SOUTH CAROLINA

AND

GEORGIA.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

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PREFACE.

THE author of the following performance presents it to the public, not from any great value he puts upon it, but from an anxious desire of contributing towards a more complete and general acquaintance with the real estate of our colonies in America. Provincial affairs have only of late years been made the objects of public notice and attention. There are yet many, both in Great Britain and America, who are unacquainted with the state of some of these settlements, and with their usefulness and importance to a commercial nation. The southern provinces in particular have been hitherto neglected, insomuch that no writer has favoured the world with any tolerable account of them. Therefore it is hoped, that a performance which brings those important, though obscure, colonies into public view, and tends to throw some light upon their situation, will meet with a favourable reception.

As many of the inhabitants of the eastern world will find themselves little interested in the trifling transactions and events here related, such readers will easily discover in what latitude the author wrote, and for whose use his work was principally intended. They will also soon perceive, that this history, like that of Dr. DOUGLAS respecting a northern

settlement in America, is only a rough draught, and far from being a finished piece; and the author will frankly and candidly acknowledge it. The case with respect to him is this, to which he must beg the reader's attention. Having been several years a resident at Charlestown in South Carolina, he was at some pains to pick up such original papers and detached manuscripts as he could find, containing accounts of the past transactions of that colony. This he did at first for the sake of private amusement; but after having collected a considerable number of those papers, he resolved to devote such hours as could be spared from more serious and important business, to arrange them, and form a kind of historical account of the rise and progress of that settlement. For the illustration of particular periods, he confesses that he was sometimes obliged to have recourse to very confused materials, and to make use of such glimmering lights as occurred; indeed his means of information, in the peculiar circumstances in which he stood, were often not so good as he could have desired, and even from these he was excluded before he had finished the collection necessary to complete his plan. Besides, while he was employed in arranging these materials, being in a town agitated with popular tumults, military parade, and frequent alarms, his situation was very unfavourable for calm study and recollection.

While the reader attends to these things, and at the same time considers that the author has entered on a new field, where, like the wilderness he describes, there were few beaten tracks, and no certain guides, he will form several excuses for the errors and imperfections of this history. Many long speeches, petitions, addresses, &c. he might no doubt have abridged; but as these were his principal

vouchers, for his own sake, he chose to give them entire. Being obliged to travel over the same ground, in order to make its progress in improvement at different periods, it was no easy matter to avoid repetitions. With respect to language, style, and manner of arrangement, the author not being accustomed to write or correct for the press, must crave the indulgence of critics for the many imperfections of this kind which may have escaped his notice. Having endeavoured to render his performance as complete as his circumstances would admit, he hopes the public will treat him with lenity, although it may be far from answering their expectations. In short, if this part of the work shall be deemed useful, and meet with any share of public approbation, the author will be satisfied; and may be induced afterward to review it, and take some pains to render it not only more accurate and correct, but also more complete, by adding some late events more interesting and important than any here related: but if it shall turn out otherwise, all must acknowledge that he has already bestowed sufficient pains upon a production deemed useless and unprofitable. Sensible therefore of its imperfections, and trusting to the public favour and indulgence, he sends it into the world with that modesty and diffidence becoming every young author on his first public appearance.

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THE HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE COLONY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Among the various events recorded in the history of past ages, there are few more interesting and important than the discovery of the western world. By it a large field for adventures, and a new source of power, opulence and grandeur, opened to European nations. To obtain a share of the vast territories in the west became an object of ambition to many of them; but for this purpose, the maritime and commercial states possessed the greatest advantages. Having first discovered the country, with facility they transported people to it, settled colonies there, and in process of time shared among them the extensive wilderness.

All accounts relating to these settlements afford pleasure to curious and ingenius minds, in what quarter of the globe soever they live; but to the posterity of the first adventurers they must be peculiarly acceptable. In the lives of our ancestors we become parties concerned; and when we behold them braving the horrors of the desert, and surmounting every difficulty from a burning climate, a thick forest, and savage neighbours, we admire their courage, and are astonished at

their perseverance. We are pleased with every danger they escaped, and wish to see even the most minute events, relating to the rise and progress of their little communities, placed before us in the most full and conspicuous light. The world has not yet been favoured with a particular history of all these colonies: many events respecting some of them lie buried in darkness and oblivion. As we have had an opportunity of acquiring some knowledge of one of the most valuable and flourishing of the British settlements in that quarter, we propose to present the world with a particular, but imperfect, detail of its most memorable and important transactions.

To pave the way for the execution of this design, it may not be improper to cast our eyes backward on the earliest ages of European discoveries, and take a slight view of the first and most distinguished adventurers to the western world. This will serve to introduce future occurrences, and contribute towards the easier illustration of them. Beyond doubt, a notion was early entertained of territories lying to the westward of Europe and Africa. Some of the Greek historians make mention of an Atlantic island, large in extent, fertile in its soil, and full of rivers. These historians assert, that the Tyrians and Carthaginians discovered it, and sent a colony thither, but afterward, from maxims of policy, compelled their people to abandon the settlement. Whether this was the largest of the Canary islands, as we may probably suppose, or not, is a matter of little importance with respect to our present purpose: it is enough that such a notion prevailed, and gained so much credit as to be made the grounds of future inquiry and adventure.

With the use of the compass, about the close of the fifteenth century, the great era of naval adventures commenced. Indeed the Tyrian fleet in the service of Solomon had made what was then esteemed long voyages, and a famous Carthaginian captain had sailed round Africa: the Portuguese also were great adventurers by sea, and their discoveries in Africa served to animate men of courage and

enterprise to bolder undertakings: but the invention of the compass proved the mariner's best guide, and facilitated the improvements in navigation. Furnished with this new and excellent instructer, the seaman forsook the dangerous shore and launched out into the immense ocean in search of new regions, which, without it, must long have remained unknown. Even such expeditions as proved abortive, furnished observations and journals to succeeding navigators, and every discovery made, gave life and encouragement to brave adventurers.

About this period Christopher Columbus,* a native of Genoa, appeared, who was a man of great ingenuity, courage, and abilities, and had acquired better notions of the globe, and greater skill in navigation, than any of his cotemporaries. Imagining there might be territories in the west to balance those in the east, he directed all his views to that quarter, and was eagerly bent on a voyage of discovery. He drew a plan for the execution of his project, which, together with a map of the world, he laid before his countrymen, showing them what grandeur and advantage would accrue to their state, should he prove successful. But the leading men of the republic considered his project as wild and chimerical, and shamefully treated him with neglect. Though mortified at this ill usage, he nevertheless remained inflexible as to his purpose, and therefore determined to visit the different courts of Europe, and offer his service to that sovereign who should give him the greatest encouragement and assistance.

While he resolved to go in person to France, Spain and Portugal, he sent his brother Bartholomew to England; which nation had now seen an end of her bloody civil wars, and begun to encourage trade and navigation. But Bartholomew, in his passage, was unfortunately taken by pirates,

* Of the events of this great man's life, and of their grand results, no writer has afforded us a better history, than our countryman Washington Irving. His life of Columbus, should be in the hands of every American, who feels any of the pride of country.

and robbed of all he had; and, to augument his distress, was seized with a fever after his arrival, and reduced to great hardships. After his recovery, he spent some time in drawing charts and maps, and selling them, before he was in a condition to appear at court. At length, being introduced to the king, he laid before him his brother's proposals for sailing to the west on a voyage of discovery. King Henry, who was rather a prudent manager of the public treasure, than an encourager of great undertakings, as some historians say, rejected his proposals: but others of equal credit affirm, that the king entered into an agreement with Bartholomew, and sent him to invite his brother to England; and that the nation in general were fond of the project, either from motives of mere curiosity or prospects of commercial advantage.

In the mean time Columbus, after surmounting several discouragements and difficulties, found employment in the service of Spain. Queen Isabella agreed with him on his own terms, and went so far as to sell her jewels in order to furnish him with every thing requisite for his intended expedition. Accordingly he embarked in August 1492, and sailed from Palos on one of the greatest enterprises ever undertaken by man. Steering towards the west, through what was then deemed a boundless ocean, he found abundance of scope for all the arts of navigation of which he was possessed; and, after surmounting numberless difficulties, from a mutinous crew and the length of the voyage, he discovered one of the Bahama islands. Here he landed, and, after falling on his knees and thanking God for his success, he erected the royal standard of Spain in the western world, and returned to Europe.

Upon his arrival in Spain, the fame of this bold adventurer, and the success of his voyage, quickly spread through Europe, and excited general inquiry and admiration. John Cabot,* a native of Venice, (at that time one of the most

* For a very accurate and learned summary of the lives of the Cabots, see "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," by Richard Biddle.

flourishing commercial states of the world), resided at Bristol in England, and, having heard of territories in the west, fitted out a ship at his own expense, and steered to that quarter on a voyage of discovery. Directing his course more to the northward, he was equally successful, and, in the year 1494, discovered the island of Newfoundland. He went ashore on another island, which he called St. John's, because discovered on the festival of St. John the Baptist. Here he found inhabitants clothed with skins, who made use of darts, bows and arrows, and had the address to persuade some of them to sail with him to England. On his return to Bristol he was knighted by the king, and reported that the land appeared rocky and barren, but that the sea abounded with fish of various kinds.

King Henry was no sooner made acquainted with the success of John Cabot, than he gave an invitation to mariners of character and ability to enter his service, for the purpose of attempting further discoveries. Cabot declared, he doubted not to make discoveries for him equally honourable and advantageous as those Columbus had made for Ferdinand and Isabella. Accordingly, terms were proposed and agreed on between them. "Henry, in the eleventh year of his reign, gave a commission to John Cabot and his three sons, Sebastian, Lewis, and Sancius, and their heirs, allowing them full power to sail to all countries and seas of the east, west, and north, under English colours, with five ships of such burden and force as they should think proper, and with as many mariners as they should choose to take on their own cost and charges, to seek out and discover all the isles, countries, regions and provinces of heathens and infidels they could find, which to all Christians before that time had remained unknown." In these letters-patent, though it appears that Henry granted them a right to occupy and possess such lands and countries as they should find and conquer, yet he laid them under an obligation to erect the English standard in every place, and reserved to himself and his heirs the dominion, title and jurisdiction of all the towns,

castles, isles and lands they should discover; so that whatever acquisitions they should make, they would only occupy them as vassals of the crown of England. And lest they should be inclined to go to some foreign port, he expressly bound them to return to Bristol, and to pay him and his heirs one fifth part of all the capital gains, after the expenses of the voyage were deducted: and, for their encouragement, he invested them with full powers to exclude all English subjects, without their particular license, from visiting and frequenting the places they should discover.

Soon after receiving this commission from the king, John Cabot died; and his son Sebastian, who was also a skilful navigator, set sail in 1497, with the express view of discovering a north-west passage to the eastern spice islands. Directing his course by his father's journals to the same point, he proceeded beyond the 67th degree of north latitude; and it is affirmed, that he would have advanced farther, had not his crew turned mutinous and ungovernable, and obliged him to return to the degree of latitude 56. From thence, in a south-west course, he sailed along the coast of the continent, as far as that part which was afterward called Florida, where he took his departure, and returned to England. Thus England claims the honour of discovering the continent of North America, and by those voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot, all that right and title to this extensive region, founded on prior discovery, must be vested in the crown of England.

In the year following, Americus Vespuccius, a native of Florence, having procured a commission, together with the charts of the celebrated Columbus, sailed to the southern division of the western continent. In this voyage he discovered a large country, and drew a kind of map of those parts of it he visited. He also kept a journal, making several useful remarks on the coast and inhabitants; which, on his return to Europe, were published for general instruction. By this means he had the good fortune to perpetuate his name, by giving it to the whole western world. Poste-

rior writers naturally following the same tract, and using the same names found in the first performance, America by accident became the denomination by which the western continent was distinguished, and probably will be so through all succeeding ages.

Not long after this, Don Pedro Alvarez Cabral, admiral of the Portuguese fleet, bound for the East Indies, was driven by a storm on the coast of that country now called Brazil. There he found fine land, inhabited by savages, of which he took possession in name of his king. This discovery he deemed of great consequence, and therefore, having put a native or two of the new found land on board, he sent Gasper Lamidas back to Portugal with the news. He reported, at the same time, the gentle treatment he received from the natives of the country, the excellent soil and beautiful prospects it exhibited; and, upon his report, a settlement was soon after made, which advanced by rapid degrees in riches and population, and soon became the most valuable of the Portuguese possessions.

This vast territory of America being now discovered by different nations, in every place they found it inhabited by human creatures; but from what country they derived their origin, or by what means they were conveyed to this distant region, has been the subject of much speculation and inquiry, not only in that, but also in every future period. History claims not the province of peremptorily determining inquiries, which can have no better foundation than the probable opinions and uncertain conjectures of ingenious men, and therefore must leave every man to adopt such accounts as appear to him least absurd or liable to exception. Yet, as the subject is curious, it may be amusing to some readers to present them with the different conjectures respecting it, especially such as are supported by late observations and discoveries.

One person fancies that this country was peopled from Britain, and has recourse to a romantic story of a Welsh historian in support of his wild conjecture. This author gives an account of a discovery made in the year 1170, by

Maddock,* a younger son of Owen Guineth, prince of Wales. That prince, observing his brethren engaged in civil war about the succession to his father's throne, formed a resolution to abandon his country. Having procured a ship, with plenty of necessaries for a long voyage, he embarked, and sailed far to the westward of Ireland, where he discovered a rich and fertile country, in which he resolved to establish a settlement. With this view he returned to Wales, prepared ten sail of ships, and transported a number of both sexes to this western territory. Some men, who have been rather too zealous for proofs in confirmation of this conjecture, have industriously traced, and flattered themselves with having found a striking resemblance between several words in the native language of some Indian nations and the old Welsh tongue.

Other authors are of opinion, that the American tribes are the descendants of the ancient Phenicians and Carthaginians, who early formed settlements on the coast of Barbary and the Canary islands. The Tyrians and Carthaginians, beyond doubt, were a commercial people, and the first who distinguished themselves by their knowledge in navigation. They built ships which carried vast numbers of people. To plant a colony on the west of Africa, Hanno, a Carthaginian captain, embarked in a fleet of sixty ships, containing no fewer than thirty thousand persons, with implements necessary for building and cultivation. While he sailed along the stormy coast of Africa, it is not improbable that some of his ships might be driven out of sight of the land. In this case, the mariners finding the trade winds blowing constantly against them, might necessarily be obliged to bear away before them, and so be wafted over to America. The complexion of the inhabitants of the African islands resembled those Columbus found in the West Indies: the bows,

* See "The most ancient Discouery of the West Indies by Madoc, the sonne of Owen Guyneth, Prince of North Wales, in the yeere 1170," in Hakluyt's voyages Vol. III. p. I.

arrows, spears, and lances of both were also nearly similar, only those of the latter were pointed with flints and the bones of fishes: there were also some resemblance in their religious rites and superstitions to those of the ancient Carthaginians, which afford some presumptive evidences that they might have derived their origin from nations were such arms were used, and such superstition prevailed. That America might receive some of its first inhabitants from the best and boldest navigators of the east, is a thing neither impossible nor incredible; and, if this be acknowledged, they had many hundred years to multiply and increase, before the period in which Columbus visited them.

Other authors of considerable merit and ingenuity have contended, that America was first peopled by Norwegians, and the northern countries of Europe,* formerly so populous and enterprising. They considered the route by Iceland and Greenland, where the sea is covered with ice and snow, as the most easy and practicable. They affirm, that colonies

* There seems to be the strongest evidence, to support the position, that America was discovered by the Scandinavians as early as the 10th century. In the circular proposing the publication of "a collection of Icelandic and other Scandinavian manuscripts, by the Royal Society of Northern antequaries, at Copenhagen," it is said, that these manuscripts comprise testimony, the most authentic and irrefragable to the fact, that North America was actually discovered by the Northmen towards the close of the 10th century; visited by them repeatedly during the 11th and 12th (some of them even settling there as colonists) re-discovered towards the close of the 13th, and again repeatedly resorted to in the course of the 14th; and that the Christian religion was established there not only among the Scandinavian emigrants, but, in all probability, likewise among other tribes previously, or, at all events, then seated in those regions.—"The apparent probability is great, amounting almost to certainty, that it was a knowledge of these facts that prompted the memorable expedition of Columbus himself which terminated in the discovery of the New World—for it is a well authenticated fact, that the great navigator visited Iceland in the year 1477, on which occasion he could scarcely fail to obtain some information from its inhabitants, particularly its clerical functionaries, with whom, according to the custom of the times, he probably conversed in Latin, respecting the voyages of their ancestors to those regions."

were planted in Greenland, by adventurers from the north of Europe; that the north-west coast of Greenland is removed at no great distance from America, and that it is not improbable these two territories may, in places yet undiscovered, be contiguous. In support of which conjecture, an affinity between the language of the Esquimaux Indians and that of the Greenlanders has been discovered by modern Danish travellers. It is asserted, that they understand each other in their commercial intercourses. Besides, so great is their likeness in features and manners in their boats and darts that late geographers have not scrupled to believe that the lands are united, as the inhabitants of both sides so manifestly appear to be descended from the same nation.

Other writers, with greater probability and reason, suppose, that the western continent must have received its first inhabitants from the north-east parts of Asia and Europe. Some ancient Greek historians say, that the Scythians, from whom the Tartars derived their origin, were all painted from their infancy, and that they slayed the heads of their enemies, and wore their scalps, by way of triumph, at the bridles of their horses. Sophocles speaks of having the head shorn, and of wearing a skull-cap, like the Scythians. These indeed bear a faint resemblance to some customs of the Indian tribes in America; but late discoveries furnish us with the best proofs in favour of this conjecture. Some Russian adventurers, on the sea of Kamschatka, have discovered the coast of America, and reported, that the distance between the two continents is so small and inconsiderable, that a passage between them, at certain seasons, is easy and practicable, and that, though it be uncertain, it is by no means improbable that these two great territories have been united. It is remarkable, that the aspect, language, and manners of the people, on each side of the narrow channel, are nearly similar; that the arms they use for procuring subsistence are the same; that their boats and method of fishing are exactly alike; that both make use of a wooden instrument for procuring fire by friction; that neither attack their enemies in the open field, but take all

advantages of ensnaring them by wiles and stratagem; and that the vanquished, when taken prisoners, are tortured without mercy. These observations indicate a striking resemblance between the Tartars and the savages of America. One thing is certain, that emigrations to the western world by this narrow channel are easier accounted for than by any other route, and it is to be hoped, a few years more will remove every difficulty attending this curious and important inquiry.

Notwithstanding all these conjectures, various may have been the ways and means of peopling this large continent. It is not improbable that several nations may have contributed towards supplying it at different times with inhabitants. The Scripture affirms, that all mankind originally sprung from the same root, however now diversified in characters and complexions. In the early ages of the world, as mankind multiplied they dispersed, and occupied a greater extent of country. When thus divided, for the sake of self-preservation and mutual defence, they would naturally unite and form separate states. The eager desire of power and dominion would prove the occasion of differences and quarrels, and the weaker party or state would always be obliged to flee before the stronger. Such differences would necessarily promote distant settlements, and when navigation was introduced and improved, unforeseen accidents, sea-storms, and unfortunate shipwrecks, would contribute to the general dispersion. These, we may natually suppose, would be the effects of division and war in the earlier ages. Nor would time and higher degrees of civilization prevent such consequences, or prove a sufficient remedy against domestic discord and trouble. Ambition, tyranny, factions and commotions of various kinds, in larger societies, would occasion emigrations, and all the arts of navigation would be employed for the relief and assistance of the distressed. So that if America was found peopled in some measure nigh 5,500 years after the creation, it cannot be deemed a thing more wonderful and unaccountable, than the population of many

eastern islands, especially those lying at a considerable distance from the continents. The great Author of nature, who first framed the world, still superintends and governs it; and as all things visible and invisible are instruments in his hand, he can make them all conspire towards promoting the designs of his providence, and has innumerable methods, incomprehensible by us, of diffusing the knowledge of his name, and the glory of his kingdom, throughout the spacious universe.

Those scattered tribes of savages dispersed by Providence through the American continent, occupied its extensive forests; and it must be confessed, that no inhabitants of Europe, Africa or Asia could produce a better title to their possessions. Their right was founded in nature and Providence: it was the free and liberal gift of heaven to them, which no foreigner could claim any pretension to invade. Their lands they held by the first of all tenures, that of defending them with their lives. However, charters were granted to European intruders, from kings who claimed them on the foot of prior discovery; but neither the sovereigns who granted away those lands, nor the patentees who accepted their grants, and by fraud or force acquired possession, could plead any title to them founded on natural right. Prior discovery might give foreigners a kind of right to lands unoccupied, or possessions relinquished, but neither of these was the case of the American territories. Nations who lived by hunting like the savages in America, required a large extent of territory; and though some had more, others less extensive districts to which they laid claim, yet each tribe knew its particular division, and the whole coast was occupied by them. Indeed, in a general view, the whole earth may be called an inheritance common to mankind; but, according to the laws and customs of particular nations, strangers who encroach on their neighbours property, or attempt to take forcible possession, have no reason to wonder if they obtain such property at the risk of life. In justice and equity, Indian titles were the best ones; and such European emi-

grants as obtained lands by the permission and consent of the natives, or by fair and honorable purchase, could only be said to have a just right to them.

In the centre of the continent the people, comparatively speaking, were numerous and civilized; the tribes farther removed from it on each side lived more dispersed, and consequently were more rude. Some historians have represented them as naturally ferocious, cruel, treacherous and revengeful; but no man ought to draw conclusions, with respect to their original characters, from their conduct in later times, especially after they have been hostilely invaded, injuriously driven from their natural possessions, cruelly treated and barbarously butchered by European aggressors, who had no other method of colouring and vindicating their own conduct, but that of blackening the characters of those poor natives. To friends they are benevolent, peaceable, generous and hospitable: to enemies they are the reverse. But we forbear entering minutely into this subject at present, as we shall have occasion afterward to make several remarks on the character, manners and customs of these tribes. Just views of them may indeed excite compassion; yet, for our instruction, they will exhibit to us a genuine picture of human nature in its rudest and most uncultivated states.

With the revival of learning in Europe, towards the close of the fifteenth century, a more free and liberal way of thinking, with respect to religion, was introduced and encouraged, than had taken place during many preceding ages. At this period several men of genius and courage appeared, who discovered to the world the gross absurdity of many of the tenets and practices of the Romish church, but were unwilling totally to overturn her established jurisdiction and authority. At length Luther boldly exposed her errors to public view, and the spirit of the age, groaning under the papal yoke, applauded the undertaking. Multitudes, who had long been oppressed, were ripe for a change, and well disposed for favouring the progress of that reformation which he attempted and introduced. By this means great

commotions were excited throughout Christendom, and thousands united and entered warmly into designs of asserting their religious liberty. Hence a spirit of emigration arose, and men seemed bent on visiting the remotest regions of the earth, rather than submit to spiritual oppression at home.

Instead of improving the discoveries made in America during the reign of his father, Henry the eighth was busily engaged in gratifying the cravings of licentious appetites, or in opposing by writings the progress of the reformation. In his reign Sebastian Cabot, that eminent mariner, finding himself shamefully neglected by the capricious and voluptuous monarch, went over to Spain. There he got employment for several years, and made some new and useful discoveries in America for the Spanish nation. After the young Prince Edward ascended the English throne, the enterprising merchants of Bristol invited Cabot to return to Britain; and he, having a natural fondness for that city in which he was born, the more readily accepted their invitation. King Edward, having heard of the fame of this bold navigator, expressed a desire of seeing him; and accordingly Cabot was sent for and introduced to the king by the Duke of Somerset, at that time Lord Protector of England. The king being highly pleased with his conversation, kept him about court, and from him received much instruction, both with respect to foreign parts, and the ports and havens within his own dominions. In all affairs relating to trade and navigation Cabot was consulted, and his judgment and skill procured him general respect. A trade with Russia was projected, and a company of merchants being incorporated for carrying it on, Sebastian Cabot was made the first governor of the company. In 1549, being advanced in years, the king, as a reward for his services, made him Grand Pilot of England, to which office he annexed a pension of £166 13 4 *per annum*, which Cabot held during his life, together with the favour of his prince, and the friendship of the trading part of the nation.

When Mary, that cruel and inflexible bigot, succeded to the throne, domestic troubles and ecclesiastical persecution were so prevalent in England, that commerce sunk into decay, and navigation was despised and neglected. The spirit of murmur and discontent pervaded the country, and multitudes wished for some foreign settlement, as an asylum against domestic trouble and persecution; and, had they been sufficiently acquainted with the western territories, would certainly have emigrated to that quarter. After Elizabeth ascended the throne, the bloody scene of violence closed, and national affairs took a more successful turn. During her reign the reformation advanced to a peaceable establishment in England, and commerce was encouraged and protected.

In France the reformation met with greater obstacles, and was productive of more serious and fatal consequences. It occasioned a civil war between the Protestant and Catholic parties of that kingdom, which raged for several years with great violence. During these domestic troubles, Jasper de Coligni, one of the chief leaders of the Protestant army, formed a project for carrying a colony to America. Foreseeing the dangers to which he and his followers would be exposed, should the cause in which they were engaged prove unsuccessful, it is probable he intended this foreign settlement as a retreat. Accordingly, having fitted out two ships, he gave the command of them to Jean Ribaud, and sent him with a colony of Protestants to America. Ribaud landed at the mouth of the river now called Albemarle,* which was then considered as part of Florida, where he built a fort, for the security of himself and followers, and called the country Carolina. By this time the Spaniards had incurred the irreconcilable hatred and resentment of the Indian nations by their cruelty and treachery in the heart of the continent.

* Hewit, with many others, has fallen into the mistake of placing this settlement in North Carolina. By a reference to the introduction, it will appear, that the spot where Ribaud built his fort, was at Port Royal in South Carolina.

Ribaud found means of acquainting the Indians that he was an enemy to the Spaniards, and of consequence he was the more kindly received by them. He had the address to engage their affections, insomuch that in a little time they became fond of his alliance. But while the flames of war continued in France, Coligni could find no leisure to send supplies to his infant colony, and Ribaud was obliged to abandon the settlement. Great were the extremities to which he was reduced in returning to Europe: one of his crew was killed for subsistence to the rest, who had scarcely done eating him, when an English vessel providentially appeared, took the emaciated crew on board, and carried them to England.

Meanwhile, a peace being patched up between the Papists and Protestants in France, Admiral Coligni, who was seemingly restored into favour by that political court, fitted out three ships, loaded them with provisions and arms, and sent them to Carolina. René Laudoner, to whom he had given the command, embarked with a number of adventurers. On his arrival he found the spot Rabaud had relinquished; but despaired of being able to keep possession of it without regular supplies. When he found his provisions beginning to fail, he had formed resolutions of returning to Europe. While he was making preparations to embark, Ribaud fortunately arrived with seven ships, a large supply of necessaries, and a considerable body of settlers. This animated them to enter with greater vigour on clearing and cultivating lands, and making provision for their future subsistence. The Indians rejoiced at Ribaud's return, and waited on him with their assurances of friendship. But while this French colony were beginning to flatter themselves with some faints hopes of success, Peter Melandez, who pretended a right to the whole territory, came against them with an armed force, killedRibaud and seven hundred of his men, and compelled the remainder to return to France. M. de Gorgues, a Gascon, afterward, to avenge the disaster of his countrymen, dislodged Melandez, but made no attempt

toward planting a colony in that quarter. This extensive country remained a wilderness until the reign of Charles the second of England. To keep possession, the Spaniards supported a small garrison at Augustine, on the most barren spot of the whole territory, upon which, together with the discovery of Ponce de Leon, they ever after founded their claim to all the southern parts of North America.

About the same time a traffic in the human species, called Negroes, was introduced into England; which is one of the most odious and unnatural branches of trade the sordid and avaricious mind of mortals ever invented. It had indeed been carried on before this period by Genoese traders, who bought a patent from Charles the fifth, containing an exclusive right of carrying negroes from the Portuguese settlements in Africa, to America and the West Indies; but the English nation had not yet engaged in the iniquitous traffic. As it has since been deeply concerned in it, and as the province, the transactions of which I narrate, owes its improvements almost entirely to this hardy race of labourers, it may not be improper here to give some account of the origin and first inventor of this trade.

William Hawkins, an expert English seaman, having made several voyages to the coast of Guinea, and from thence to Brazil and the West Indies, had acquired considerable knowledge of the countries. At his death he left his journals with his son John Hawkins, in which he described the lands of America and the West Indies to be exceedingly rich and fertile, but utterly neglected for want of hands to improve them. He represented the natives of Europe as unequal to the task in such a scorching climate; but those of Africa as well adapted to undergo the labours requisite. Upon which John Hawkins immediately formed a design of transporting Africans into the western world; and having drawn a plan for the execution of it, he laid it before some of his opulent neighbours for encouragement and approbation. To them it appeared promising and advantageous. A subscription was opened, and speedily filled up,

by Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter and others, who plainly perceived the vast profits that would result from such a trade. Accordingly three ships were fitted out, and manned by an hundred select sailors, whom Hawkins encouraged to go with him by promises of good treatment and great pay. In the year 1562 he set sail for Africa, and in a few weeks arrived at the country now called Sierra Leona, where he began his commerce with the negroes. While he trafficked with them, he found some means of giving them a charming description of the country to which he was bound; the unsuspicious Africans listened to him with apparent joy and satisfaction, and seemed remarkably fond of his European trinkets, food and clothes. He pointed out to them the barrenness of the country, and their naked and wretched condition, and promised, if any of them were weary of their miserable circumstances, and would go along with him, he would carry them to a plentiful land, where they should live happy, and receive an abundant recompense for their labours. He told them, that the country was inhabited by such men as himself and his jovial companions, and assured them of kind usage and great friendship. In short, the negroes were overcome by his flattering promises, and three hundred stout fellows accepted his offer, and consented to embark along with him. Every thing being settled on the most amicable terms between them, Hawkins made preparations for his voyage. But in the night before his departure, his negroes were attacked by a large body from a different quarter; Hawkins, being alarmed with the shrieks and cries of dying persons, ordered his men to the assistance of his slaves, and having surrounded the assailants, carried a number of them on board as prisoners of war. The next day he set sail for Hispaniola with his cargo of human creatures; but, during the passage, treated the prisoners of war in a different manner from his volunteers. Upon his arrival he disposed of his cargo to great advantage; and endeavoured to inculcate on the Spaniards who bought the negroes

the same distinction he observed: but they, having purchased all at the same rate, considered them as slaves of the same condition, and consequently treated all alike.

When Hawkins returned to England with pearls, hides, sugar and ginger, which he had received in exchange for his slaves, multitudes flocked after him, to inquire into the nature, and learned the success of the new and extraordinary branch of trade. At first the nation was shocked at the unnatural trade of dealing in human flesh, and bartering the commodities and trinkets of Europe for the rational race of Africa. The queen, though a patroness of commerce, was doubtful of the justice and humanity of this new branch, it appearing to her equally barbarous as uncommon, and therefore sent for Hawkins to inquire into his method of conducting it. Hawkins told her, that he considered it as an act of humanity to carry men from a worse condition to a better, from a state of wild barbarism to another where they might share the blessings of civil society and Christianity; from poverty, nakedness and want, to plenty and felicity. He assured her, that in no expedition where he had the command should any Africans be carried away without their own free will and consent, except such captives as were taken in war and doomed to death; that he had no scruple about the justice of bringing human creatures from that barren wilderness, to a condition where they might be both happy themselves and beneficial to the world. Indeed it would appear that Hawkins had no idea of perpetual slavery, but expected they would be treated as free servants, after they had by their labours brought their masters an equivalent for the expense of their purchase. Queen Elizabeth seemed satisfied with his account, and dismissed him, by declaring, that while he and his owners acted with humanity and justice, they should have her countenance and protection.

Soon after Hawkins made preparations for a second voyage, in which the Queen offered him a ship of war for his assistance and protection. But he declined ac-

cepting her offer, by telling her Majesty, that the profits of the trade would answer for all the risk and expenses attending it. In his passage, however, he fell in with the Minion man of war, which accompanied him to the coast of Africa. After his arrival he began as formerly to traffic with the negroes, endeavouring by persuasion and the prospects of reward to induce them to go along with him. But now they were more reserved and jealous of his designs, and as none of their neighbours had returned, they were apprehensive he had killed and eat them. The crew of the man of war observing the Africans backward and suspicious, began to laugh at his gentle and dilatory methods of proceeding, and proposed having immediate recourse to force and compulsion. The sailors belonging to his own fleet joined those of the man of war, and applauded the proposal. But Hawkins considered it as cruel and unjust, and tried by persuasion, promises and threats to prevail on them to desist from a purpose so unwarrantable and barbarous. In vain did he urge his authority and instructions from the Queen: the bold and headstrong sailors would hear of no restraints. Drunkenness and avarice are deaf to the voice of humanity. They pursued their violent design, and, after several unsuccessful attacks, in which many of them lost their lives, the cargo was at length completed by barbarity and force.

Hence arose that horrid and inhuman practice of dragging Africans into slavery; which has since been so pursued, in defiance of every principle of justice and religion.* Though Hawkins was the first Englishman who engaged in this traffic, so repugnant to the spirit of the English

* The Anglo-Americans have been fully exculpated from the charge of being the leaders in this traffic. More than a half century, before America was discovered, the slave trade was extensively carried on by the Venetians; and, if, the system can be at all supported, by its antiquity and general prevalence, we certainly have abundant authority in the practices of nations, from the creation of the world, to the present time.—See "History of Slavery in the United States," by I. K. Paulding.—Also Bancroft's U. S. Vol. I. p. 177.

constitution; though he made use of such fraudulent arts even in his first method of conducting it, as few men can have the assurance to vindicate; yet, as he was a man of prudence and humanity, he is no ways chargeable with those diabolical abuses which have since crept into this trade. Had men continued to conduct it according to his plan and proposal, and hands been transported by their voluntary consent to labour in burning climates, where Europeans are disqualified by nature for the task; had the Spaniards allowed them the common privileges of servants, after they had cleared the charges they cost them; had negroes been bought from the flames, to which in some countries they were devoted on their falling prisoners of war, and in others sacrificed at the funeral obsequies of the great and powerful among themselves; in short, had they been by this traffic delivered from torture or death, European merchants might have some excuse to plead in its vindication. But, according to the common mode in which it has been conducted, we must confess it a difficult matter to conceive a single argument in its defence. It is contrary to all laws of nature and nations to entice, inveigle and compel such multitudes of human creatures, who never injured us, from their native land, and dispose of them like flocks of sheep and cattle to the highest bidder; and, what completes the cruelty and injustice of the traffic, to consign them over to ignorance, barbarism, and perpetual slavery. After this, where will insatiable avarice stop? As a free and independent people, they had unquestionably an equal right to make slaves of the inhabitants of Europe. Nature has given the people of the one continent no superiority over those of the other; the advantages of Europeans were the effects only of art and improvement. And though policy has given countenance and sanction to the trade, yet every candid and impartial man must confess, that it is atrocious and unjustifiable in every light in which it can be viewed, and turns merchants into a band of robbers, and trade into atrocious acts of fraud and violence.

We shall now return to those naval adventurers, whose object was the establishment of colonies in America. About the year 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh, an able statesman and gallant officer, formed a project for planting an English colony in America. His penetrating genius easily discerned the great advantages which would accrue from a successful foreign settlement. He applied to the Queen, and having obtained from her letters-patent, immediately began to carry into execution what his ingenuity had projected. He fitted out two vessels, and gave the command of them to Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, and sent them to America. They landed at the island Roanock, and took possession of the country in the name of the Queen of England, and Sir Walter called it Virginia, in honour of his virgin Queen. The favourable report made by these two mariners, encouraged Sir Walter to pursue his design with resolution. Great minds are fond of new schemes and grand enterprizes, but it commonly falls to posterity to reap the advantages resulting from them. Sir Richard Grenville, one of Sir Walter's intimate companions, afterward, visited this country, and left one hundred and eight men in it to keep possession of the territory. But they running short of provisions, and having no source of supply, were reduced to great straits. Happily for them, admiral Drake, who had been sent with a fleet to Spanish America in search of treasure, had instructions to touch at Virginia in his return to England. On his arrival he found the infant colony in great distress, and at their request carried them back to England.

Some years afterward another attempt was made, and fifty men were left to begin a settlement. Whether these suffered death by hunger, or the hands of savages, is uncertain; but, on the arrival of another embarkation, none of the fifty could be found. They observed the word Croatan marked on some trees, from which they conjectured that the colony had moved to a place called by that name, and left this as a mark to conduct their friends to it. But a storm

afterward arising, these adventurers were driven out to sea, and, without finding their unfortunate countrymen, returned to England.

From this period till the year 1606 Virginia was left without an inhabitant, except its original savages. In the mean time, Sir Walter Raleigh, having incurred the displeasure of the king and the jealousy of the court, fell a sacrifice to the malice and power of his enemies. However, some merchants of London and Bristol kept trading to the western world, and bartered beads, knives, hatchets and coarse cloths for the skins and furs which the Indians brought them. The immense profits arising from his commerce encouraged them to enlarge it. For this purpose two companies were incorporated for trading to America and establishing settlements in it, the one was called the Virginia Company, the other the Plymouth Adventurers. King James granted them all the territory which lies between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude. The former of these corporations laid the foundation of James-Town in Virginia, which was the first British settlement in America which proved permanent and successful. So after Sir Walter Raleigh had projected and spent forty thousand pounds, in vain attempts to establish a colony in this quarter, this company reaped the first advantages of his enterprising spirit and great design.

However, for many years, small and inconsiderable was the progress of this distant settlement. Their object was rather Indian trade than cultivation, till Lord Delawar was appointed governor of the colony. After his arrival in Virginia, he turned the attention of the settlers to industry and application. From the rivers which abounded with fish, and the woods with game, he taught them the arts of procuring a plentiful supply of provisions. He showed them the possibility of chastising those Indian tribes who presumed to harass the colony, pointed out the methods of defence in the woods, and by his example inspired them with resolution and perseverance. At length, having by his zeal

and indefatigable labours brought the colony to a growing and hopeful condition, at the risk of his own health, he appointed his son deputy-governor, and returned to England.

By this time several men of opulence and distinction in England had begun to form the most sanguine hopes with respect to this settlement, and united in a plan for carrying inhabitants to it. Sir Thomas Yates and Sir George Somers embarked with 500 men for Virginia: the latter being driven by a storm within sight of the island called Bermuda, formed a design of settling it. This embarkation proved a great acquisition to the colony in Virginia. On their arrival the colonists began to think themselves strong, and therefore, not content with the lands about James-Town, they forced their way up the large rivers, and made bold excursions into the country, in search of the most convenient and fertile spots of ground. The wisdom of their governor was no less conspicuous in the division of property, than in the distribution of justice. His tenderness and indulgence set the springs of industry in motion, which spread through the settlement, and excited a spirit of emulation with respect to the culture of lands. By degrees little spots were cleared and planted, which rewarded the diligent, and the country began to make some feeble advances towards improvement. In proportion as the colony multiplied, the inhabitants spread themselves through the country, yet abundance of land still remained for additional numbers, with which it might in time be augmented.

During the reign of the family of Stuart, a series of weak and oppressive measures, pursued in England, occasioned domestic troubles and discontent to the nation, and contributed greatly to promote American settlements. James the first, surrounded by a crowd of flatterers, began to entertain high ideas of his power and prerogative, to inculcate the extravagant doctrines of divine indefeasible right, passive obedience, and non-resistance, on a people whom he was ill qualified to govern, and who had conceived an irreconcileable aversion from such political principles. The con-

sequence was, he lost by his weakness and pedantry the affections of the nation; yet his reign is memorable for giving rise to many foreign settlements. From him the East-India Company received a new patent, which encouraged the corporation to enlarge their stock, and to fit out a greater number of ships for that trade. In his reign Barbadoes was settled by an association of noblemen, of whom the Earl of Pembroke was the chief. And though it afterward changed its master, and fell into the hands of the Earl of Carlisle, yet it prospered from its first population, and soon became a rich and flourishing island. St. Christophers may also date its origin from the close of this king's reign. The Plymouth Adventurers, who had carried a colony to New-England, at different times added numbers to it, and, notwithstanding every difficulty, it grew and prospered. Sir William Alexander received a grant of that territory now called Nova Scotia from the same king, but never made any serious attempts towards settling it.

During the succeeding reign several thousands emigrated to the western continent. Both the King and Queen were attached to the Popish religion, which vast multitudes of the nation abhorred. This served to alienate the people's affections not a little from the royal family: but the tyrannical and oppressive regulations established by the rulers of the church, doubled the distress of the people, and served to complete their disaffection to their native country. The Puritans, so called for their taking, or affecting to take, the pure and simple word of God for the rule of their faith and practice, regardless of ecclesiastical authority and institutions, were a numerous party in the nation. These people had begun their struggles for religious liberty, and as they afterward occasioned such commotions in England, a general sketch of their character, and the rise and progress of their party, may not perhaps be unacceptable.

From the great era of the Reformation the English nation had been distracted with religious disputes, and divided into contending parties. One part of the people adhered to the

old superstitious system of the Romish church, and strictly observed all the absurd tenets and practices of that establishment. Another party, of which the church of England was composed, receded several steps from popery, but maintained the hierarchy in its full power and authority. The third sect were Puritans, who had imbibed such high notions of civil and religious liberty, as struck at the foundation of both hierarchy and monarchy. On all occasions they discovered a strong tendency towards a republican form of government, and an irreconcileable aversion towards the whole fabric of the Episcopalian church. This party, during the two preceding reigns being chiefly composed of the dregs of the people, were regarded as of little consequence, and treated with supercilious contempt by the administration. But in the reign of King Charles the first they had amazingly increased, and many men of opulence and distinction had joined them, from motives of discontent or ambition, or from a passion for singularity and popular applause. When the religious disputes became warm in the nation, the zeal of this party broke out, and burned with such amazing ardour that it levelled all distinctions. To increase the confusion, Archbishop Laud insisted on conformity, and persecuted all who refused obedience to his mandates with the utmost rigour. But persecution, for the most part, proves destructive to the cause it is intended to promote. The miseries the Puritans endured, and their firmness and perseverance in the midst of sufferings, contributed to give them that merit and importance in the eyes of the nation, which otherwise perhaps they had never attained. Their sober and rigid manner of life, the plainness of dress which they affected, and the strong tendency they showed towards religion in all their words and actions, had great weight with the vulgar and credulous part, and induced them to entertain high notions of their sanctity, and to venerate them as the peculiar people of God. Their number increased and became formidable. Many men of rank, disgusted at the measures of court, and apprehensive that

the liberties of the nation were in danger, turned zealous republicans, and seemed to aim at a total subversion of the constitution, both in church and state. The King though a well-wisher to religion, hated the principles of the Puritans, and considered them as dangerous and deceitful. Those enthusiasts, on the other hand, were determined to endure the severest persecutions, rather than admit the common prayer, organs, and surplices into their worship, and conform to the popish ceremony of kneeling at the sacrament. In short, the dispute about trifling ceremonies became serious on both sides, and augured no good to the nation. Dr. Laud, observing not only the laity but the clergy also infected with puritanical principles, deprived many of their livings, merely for not conforming to all the ceremonies of the church. During these troubles many fled to New-England; and others caused houses to be built and lands cleared for them, with a view of retiring there, should their contention for religious freedom in England prove unsuccessful. In vain did Dr. Laud obtain an order of court to put a stop to emigration. There was not a corner of the globe to which these people would not flee, rather than conform to ceremonies which they thought savoured of popery and idolatry, and endangered their salvation.

To these disturbances New-England owed its population.* Enthusiasm has often stimulated men to bold and arduous undertakings, and animated them to perseverance amidst great difficulties. Of this truth the first emigrants

* It is somewhat remarkable, that, all the primitive North American colonies, with the exception of South Carolina, were settled, by individuals who repaired to them, on account of religious oppression at home. New-England was colonized by Puritans exiled by royal and episcopal tyranny: Virginia, on the other hand, was replenished by Cavaliers and episcopal fugitives from republican triumph and puritan ascendency; while Maryland was founded by Catholics, who had left England and Ireland, to escape the Protestant intolerance of those countries. Had the French Hugonotic settlement prospered in Carolina, that state would also have been among the number, which religious intolerance had forced into existence. See Grahame's United States, Vol. II. p. 75.

to New-England afford us a striking example. They seemed to bid defiance to the hardships to which they were exposed, having what they valued most of any thing in the world, I mean, liberty of conscience. Amidst cold, hunger, toil, disease, and distress of every kind, they comforted themselves with the thoughts of being removed far out of the reach of tyrants, and triumphed in their deliverance from an idolatrous and wicked nation. Neither the hideous gloom of the thick forest, nor the ravages and depredations of savage neighbours, appeared to them so grievous and intolerable as conformity to the church of England, and an implicit obedience to civil authority.

It might reasonably have been expected, that those emigrants who made New-England their asylum from what they deemed civil tyranny and ecclesiastical persecution, would have guarded against every degree of oppression and persecution in that form of government they were about to establish among themselves. This, however, was far from being the case. Some of their first laws savour of a degree of persecution and intolerance unknown in the most despotic governments of Europe; and those who fled from persecution became the most bitter persecutors. Those who were found dancing or drunk were ordered to be publicly whipped, in order to deter others from such practices. The custom of wearing long hair was deemed immodest, impious and abominable. All who were guilty of swearing rashly, might purchase an exemption from punishment for a shilling; but those who should transgress the fourth commandment were to be condemned to banishment, and such as should worship images, to death. Children were to be punished with death, for cursing or striking their father or mother. Marriages were to be solemnized by magistrates; and all who denied the coercive authority of the magistrate in religious matters, or the validity of infant baptism, were to be banished. Blasphemy, perjury, adultery, and witchcraft, were all made capital offences. In short, we may challenge the annals of any nation to produce

a code of laws more intolerant than that of the first settlers in New-England. Unlimited obedience was enjoined to the authority of the magistrate, by the same men who had refused such submission in England, and fled from their native country because it was demanded. Thus, however incredible it may appear, blind fanatics became public legislators, and those who were unable to endure tyranny in England, became the most insupportable tyrants in America.

This oppressive rigour of their first laws was soon heavily felt by many, but especially by that peaceable society of people called Quakers. Some of this sect, who had been banished on account of their religion, out of mere zeal for making proselytes, returned to the country. They were instantly seized by those oppressors, condemned and hanged, to prevent the clandestine incursions of others. Those who had the misfortune to be taken with convulsions, or any disorder to which vulgar ignorance was a stranger, were accused of witchcraft, and condemned to death. No age nor sex were secure from such suspicions, where ignorance, malice and phrensy joined in framing accusations, and selecting victims at pleasure. Dreams, apparitions and tortures were all employed as evidences against persons accused, and served to increase the number of horrid executions. The clergy were often accused, and sometimes the judges themselves. The jails were filled with infants, old men and women, the people were distracted with gloomy apprehensions, and the country was stained with innocent blood. At last the popular phrenzy began to subside, and gave way to painful remorse. The eyes of the blinded fanatics were opened, so as to discern their guilt; and a general fast was appointed to implore the pardon and mercy of God for their enormous crimes and horrible delusions.

This colony, which was planted by oppression, in process of time owed its extension to the same cause. Dissenters, who all claim an equal right to liberty in religion, with

respect to private judgment and opinion, were not likely to remain long in harmony and peace among themselves. Though they reprobated the doctrine of uniformity in England, yet they became the most bigoted sticklers for it in their new settlement. The tenets of others, who differed from their mode of worship, were condemned without scruple or hesitation, insomuch that the oppression from which they fled in Britain was like gentle toleration, when compared with that to which they subjected their fellow-refugees. Hence various sectaries arose in their settlement, who claimed the same right to dissent from them, which they formerly did from the church of England. But their claim was rejected, and of consequence a persecution for conscience sake commenced among that people, who had become separatists in defence of universal toleration. However, these sprigs, torn by violence from the old root, had the same resource left; they separated, and planted themselves in a new soil, and spread their branches over the country. Hence different governments took their origin, and different colonies were settled, by persons who were denied religious freedom, and the right of private judgment, in Massachusett's bay.

From the same source, I mean, a division in England, another colony of Catholics took its rise. The king not only lost the affections of his Protestant subjects, but was also obliged to give the Roman Catholics up to the rigour of those laws enacted against them in the preceding reigns. Lord Baltimore, therefore, resolved to leave England, and settle a colony on lands which had been granted to his father a few years before his death. This territory he called Maryland, in honour of the queen, who gave him all the assistance in her power towards forwarding the settlement.*

* Upon the settlement of Maryland, Mr. Bancroft, with great truth and eloquence observes :—that, "Calvert deserves to be ranked among the most wise and liberal lawgivers of all ages. He was the *first* in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of

From the establishment and progress of these foreign settlements, and the spirit of emigration which prevailed in England, discerning men early foreboded ill consequences to the mother country. They were no strangers to the troubles which the colonies of Greece and Rome occasioned those ancient republics. Such vast territories as America contained, opened a boundless field for the encouragement of emigration, and every addition which these colonies received from Britain was prejudicial to her interest, as it served to weaken her, in proportion as it strengthened them. The riches of every country unquestionably depends on the number of its industrious inhabitants. America could furnish employment for innumerable hands, and emigrations from the mother country would in process of time dry up the sources of her wealth and power. England, though populous, could spare none, without prejudice to herself, but such as had either no employment at home, or no inclination to labour: for all industrious men serve to enrich their country, and whatever they earn by their labour, be it more or less, so much doth the nation profit by them. It is true, a number of idle and indolent people, like voracious drones in the hive, are a burden to every community. Such indeed might be spared for the purpose of colonization, without any detriment to the parent state; but every diligent and honest labourer that emigrates from his native country, helps to depopulate, and of course to impoverish it.

Had England at that time been too populous for its ex-

popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilization by recognising the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The Asylum of Papists was the spot, where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers, which, as yet, had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state." * * * "Such were the beautiful auspices under which the province of Maryland started into being; its prosperity and its peace seemed assured; the interests of its people and proprietary were united; and for some years, its internal peace and harmony were undisturbed. Its history is the history of benevolence, gratitude and toleration." See Bancroft, United States, Vol. I. p. 262–267.

tent, or incapable of employing and maintaining its inhabitants, in that case, her planting foreign colonies might have served the purpose of public utility, and given relief from domestic hardship, just as bees send off their young swarms without injuring the industrious hive. Britain, no doubt, might reap some advantages from her foreign plantations, especially such of them as are situated in a different climate, and produce such commodities as luxury obliged her to purchase from strangers; and while she maintained her supreme jurisdiction over them, she could bind them by laws to continue her customers for taking off her manufactures, and so extend her commerce and navigation. By such policy she might make the wealth of her laborious colonies centre in herself, and add greatly to her opulence and power. In every other case, numerous and extensive foreign settlements must prove hurtful, if not troublesome and dangerous: for while they are draining her of her useful inhabitants, they are growing on her ruins; and if they turn not headstrong and ungovernable, they will at least oblige her to keep a much larger army and fleet than otherways she would have any occasion for, and double her expense for their protection.

From Charles the first Sir Robert Heath obtained a grant for an immense territory lying to the southward of Virginia, which is now divided into several distinct provinces, but made no settlement on it.* Excepting a small garrison the

* The principal condition of this grant was, that, Sir Robert Heath, "should in a reasonable time after the grant, establish settlements in the territory, and Christianize the native Indians." Neglecting to do this, his grant became vitiated; and a charter was granted by Charles the second to the Lord proprietors of Carolina, (see this Charter Vol. 2 p. 38. Hist. Col. South Carolina.) Historians, however, say, that Sir Robert conveyed his right to the Earl of Arundel, who was at considerable expense in planting several parts of the country; but, who was prevented from accomplishing his design by the civil wars breaking out in England. By different conveyances, the property at last became vested in Dr. Coxe, who at great expense, explored and surveyed a large portion of the lands included in the grant; and in a memorial to William III. incontestibly proved his right to the same. His

Spaniards supported at Augustine, this country remained a rude wilderness, the habitation of savages and wild beasts, till the restoration. Soon after that important event several leading men of the nation, actuated by a pious and laudable zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, associated, and formed a design of settling it at their own expense. To give an account of the rise and progress of this settlement, especially of that division now called SOUTH CAROLINA, shall be our business in the following pages of this history.

son Daniel Coxe Esq. who lived there fourteen years, published an account and map of the territory, which he still persisted in calling *Carolana*. The country so called, embraced all lands East and West, on the North American continent, between 31 deg. and 36 deg. North latitude, [see Coxe's Carolana, c. 1.—Univ. Hist. XL. 274–278.—Holmes Annal's, Vol. I. p. 207.

CHAPTER II.

During the period of the usurpation in England, popular anarchy prevailed, and levelled all ranks and distinctions throughout the nation. The lineal heir of the crown being expelled, Oliver Cromwell, that ambitious and crafty leader of the people, seized the reins of government, and ruled England with a rod of iron for several years. The nobles bowed to a fanatic, and the republican part of the constitution prepondered to such a degree, that the other two became as nothing in the balance.

When the restoration took place, to the great joy and happiness of the nation, the nobles and royalists again stood forth, and assumed their former dignity and weight in the government of their country. Domestic peace being re-established on the solid foundation of regal and constitutional authority, England, amidst other national objects, turned her views toward the improvement of commerce, navigation, and her colonies.

Hitherto the extensive territory of North America had been divided into two districts, which were called South and North Virginia. All lands lying towards the river St. Lawrence, from the northern boundaries of the province now called Virginia, belonged to the northern, and all those to the southward, as far as the Gulf of Florida, to the southern district. And though the first European settlement in America was attempted in Florida by the French, yet they were compelled to relinquish that place; and the English, preferring what they esteemed a more favourable climate, had hitherto neglected it.

After the restoration, England began to recognize her claim to a large territory in the southern district. In the year 1662, Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Lord Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Antony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton, being apprized of the excellent soil of this country, united and formed a project for planting a colony in it. Upon application to the crown for a charter, Charles granted them all the lands lying between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude. Two years afterward he confirmed this grant, and by a second charter enlarged the boundaries of it, from the 29th degree of north latitude to 36° 30′, and from these points on the sea coast westward in parallel lines to the Pacific ocean. Of this immense region the king constituted them absolute lords and proprietors, saving to himself, his heirs and successors the sovereign dominion of the country. At the same time he invested them with all the rights, jurisdiction, royalties, privileges and liberties within the bounds of their province, to hold, use and enjoy the same, in as ample a manner as the bishop of Durham did in that county palatine in England. This province they were to hold and possess of the king, his heirs and successors, as of his manor of East Greenwich in Kent, not *in capite*, or by knight's service, but in free and common soccage.*

These absolute lords and proprietors were by their charter empowered to enact, and, under their seal, to publish any laws or constitutions they judged proper and necessary to the public state of the province, with the assent, advice and approbation of the freemen of the colony; to constitute counties, baronies and colonies within the province; to erect courts of judicature, and appoint civil judges, magistrates and officers; to erect forts, castles, cities and towns; to make war; to levy, muster and train men to the use of

* See charter in Vol. 2. p. 38. Hist. Col. South Carolina.

arms, and, in cases of necessity, to exercise the martial law; to confer titles of honour, only they must be different from those conferred on the people of England; to build harbours, make ports, and enjoy customs and subsidies, which they, with the consent of the freemen, should impose on goods loaded and unloaded; reserving the fourth part of the gold and silver ore found within the province to the crown. By the said charter the king granted them the patronage and avowson of all churches and chapels, to hold and exercise the same rights, powers and privileges as the bishop of Durham did in England: but as it might happen that several of the inhabitants could not in their private opinions conform to the exercise of religion, according to the liturgy and ceremonies of the church of England; the proprietors had power and authority granted them, to allow the inhabitants of the province such indulgences and dispensations, as they in their discretion should think proper and reasonable; and no person, to whom such liberty should be granted, was to be molested, punished, or called in question for any differences in speculative opinions with respect to religion; so that all persons, of what denomination soever, had liberty to enjoy their own judgments and consciences in religious concerns, provided they disturbed not the civil order and peace of the province. And as the assembly of freeholders could not be immediately called, the proprietors had power granted them to make such orders and ordinances as might be necessary to the government of the people and the preservation of peace, and as were not repugnant to the laws and statutes of England. Liberty was given to the king's liege subjects to transport themselves and families to settle the province, only they were to remain immediately subject to the crown of England, and to depend thereon for ever; and were not compellable to answer to any cause or suit in any other part of his majesty's dominions but in England and Wales.

Agreeable to the powers with which the proprietors were

invested by their charter, they began to frame a system of laws for the government of their colony; in which arduous task they called in the great philosopher John Locke to their assistance. A model of government, consisting of no less than an hundred and twenty different articles, was framed by this learned man, which they agreed to establish, and to the careful observance of which, to bind themselves and their heirs for ever.* But there is danger of error, where speculative men of one country attempt to sketch out a plan of government for another, in a different climate and situation. This legislator must be acknowledged to have possessed great abilities and merit; yet his fine-spun system proved in effect useless and impracticable. Several attempts were afterward made to amend these fundamental constitutions, but all to little purpose; the inhabitants, sensible of their impropriety, and how little they were applicable to their circumstances, neither by themselves, nor by their representatives in assembly, ever gave their assent to them as a body of laws, and therefore they obtained not the force of fundamental and unalterable laws in the colony. What regulations the people found applicable and useful, they adopted at the request of their governors; but observed them on account of their own propriety and necessity, rather than as a system of laws imposed on them by British legislators.

As the proprietors were so fond of these constitutions, and expressed so much zeal for their establishment, it may not be improper to give a short and imperfect view of them, especially such as were allowed to take place in the government of the colony. The eldest of the eight proprietors was always to be Palatine, and at his decease was to be succeeded by the eldest of the seven survivors. This palatine was to sit as president of the palatine's court, of which he and three more of the proprietors made a quorum,

* See Fundamental Constitution in second volume of these collections.

and had the management and execution of all the powers of their charter. This palatine's court was to stand in room of the king, and give their assent or dissent to all laws made by the legislature of the colony. The palatine was to have power to nominate and appoint the governor, who, after obtaining the royal approbation, became his representative in Carolina. Each of the seven proprietors was to have the privilege of appointing a deputy to sit as his representative in parliament, and to act agreeable to his instructions. Besides a governor, two other branches, somewhat similar, to the old Saxon constitution, were to be established, an upper and lower house of assembly; which three branches were to be called a Parliament, and to constitute the legislature of the country. The parliament was to be chosen every two years. No act of the legislature was to have any force unless ratified in open parliament during the same session, and even then to continue no longer in force than the next biennial parliament, unless in the mean time it be ratified by the hands and seals of the palatine and three proprietors. The upper house was to consist of the seven deputies, seven of the oldest landgraves and cassiques, and seven chosen by the assembly. As in the other provinces the lower house was to be composed of the representatives from the different counties and towns. Several officers were also to be appointed, such as an admiral, a secretary, a chief justice, a surveyor, a treasurer, a marshal, and register; and besides these, each county was to have a sheriff and four justices of the peace. Three classes of nobility were to be established, called Barons, Cassiques, and Landgraves; the first to possess twelve, the second twenty-four, and third forty-eight thousand acres of land, and their possessions were to be unalienable. Military officers were also to be nominated, and all inhabitants from sixteen to sixty years of age, as in the times of feudal government, when summoned by the governor and grand council, were to appear under arms, and, in time of war, to take the field.

With respect to religion, three terms of communion were fixed: *first*, to believe that there is a God: *secondly*, that he is to be worshipped: and *thirdly*, that it is lawful, and the duty of every man when called upon by those in authority, to bear witness to the truth. Without acknowledging which, no man was to be permitted to be a freeman, or to have any estate or habitation in Carolina.* But persecution for observing different modes and ways of worship, was expressly forbid, and every man was to be left full liberty of conscience, and might worship God in that manner which he in his private judgment thought most conformable to the divine will and revealed word. This was the opinion of Mr. Locke with respect to religious matters. He chose the word of God for his rule of life, and was used to say, "that, at the day of judgment, it would not be asked whether he was a follower of Luther or Calvin; but whether he embraced the truth in the love of it."

Notwithstanding these preparations, several years elapsed before the proprietors of Carolina made any serious efforts towards its settlement. In 1667, they fitted out a ship,

* Speaking of this feature in the fundamental constitution, Grahame, remarks, with his accustomed liberality of sentiment,—"it must strike every reflecting mind with surprise, to behold a regular system of civil and religious freedom thus enacted, as the basis of the colonial institutions by the same statesmen, who, in the parent country, had framed the intolerant *act of uniformity*, and were enforcing it with the most relentless severity. While they silenced such teachers as John Owen, and filled the prisons of England with such victims as Baxter, Bunyan, and Alleine, they offered freedom and encouragement to every variety of opinion in Carolina; thus forcibly impeaching the wisdom and good faith of their domestic administration by the avowal which their colonial policy manifestly implies, that diversities of opinion and worship may peaceably co-exist in the same society; and that implicit toleration, is the most political means of making a commonwealth flourish, and a country appear desirable to its inhabitants. It is humiliating to observe a man like Lord Clarendon, realize, in conformity with his private interest, the truth which his large experience and powerful understanding were insufficient to induce him, as an English statesman, to embrace." Grahame's United States, Vol. II. p. 84.

gave the command of it to Captain William Sayle, and sent him out to bring them some account of the coast. In his passage Captain Sayle was driven by a storm among the Bahama islands, which accident he improved to the purpose of acquiring some knowledge of them; particularly the island of Providence, which he judged might be of service to the intended settlement of Carolina: for, in case of an invasion from the Spaniards, this island, fortified, might be made to serve either as a check to the progress of their arms, or a useful retreat to unfortunate colonists. Leaving Providence, he sailed along the coast of Carolina, where he observed several large navigable rivers emptying themselves into the ocean, and a flat country covered with woods. He attempted to go ashore in his boat, but observing some savages on the banks of the rivers, he was obliged to drop his design; and, after having explored the coast and the mouth of the rivers, he took his departure and returned to England.

His report to his employers, as might naturally be expected, was favourable. He praised their possessions, and encouraged them to engage with vigour in the execution of their project. His observations respecting the Bahama islands induced them to apply to the king for a grant of them. Charles bestowed on them by patent all those islands lying between the 22d and 27th degrees of north latitude. Nothing then remained but to make preparations for sending a colony to Carolina. Two ships were procured, on board of which a number of adventurers embarked, with provisions, arms, and utensils requisite for building and cultivation. William Sayle, who had visited the country, was appointed the first governor, of it, and received a commission, bearing date July 26, 1669. The expenses of this first embarkation amounted to twelve thousand pounds, which vigorous effort was a proof that the proprietors entertained no small hopes with respect to their palatinate. The number of men, however, must have been inconsiderable,

and no ways adequate to the undertaking, especially when we consider the multitude of savages that ranged through that extensive wilderness.

In what place Governor Sayle first landed is uncertain; but he was dissatisfied with his first situation, and, moving to the southward, took possession of a neck of land between Ashley and Cooper rivers.* The earliest instructions we

* Hewit, is here, entirely in error. The settlement at the confluence of the Cooper and Ashley rivers, was not made until the year 1680: before which period, Sayle had died. The first attempt of the English proprietors to settle the province of South Carolina was at Port Royal. For this purpose, they appointed William Sayle their governor, under a commission, which bears date the 26 July 1669, (Chalmer's Pol. Annals Art. So. Ca.) Having been furnished with two ships well filled with emigrants to settle the country, and with provisions and arms to defend and provide for themselves, the governor arrived in Carolina in 1670, and commenced a settlement at Port Royal. In conformity to instructions received from the proprietors, he began in a short time, to enforce all the rules laid down in their charter. To hold out every inducement to emigrants, 150 acres of land was promised them at an easy quit rent; and clothes, and provisions were distributed from the stores of the proprietors, to those who could not provide for themselves. Believing, however, that the Banks of the Ashley river afforded better "pasture and tillage," they removed to its west side a few miles from its mouth in the year 1671. (See description of Carolina by T. A. in 2d. Vol. of these collections.) Of this town, now the plantation of Jonathan Lucas Esq., no traces at present are to be seen; except a small hollow, running directly across the point of land, on which the town stood: said by tradition, to have been a wide ditch, made for the purpose of defence against the Indians. It is so filled up by the course of time, and by the industry of the successive owners of the soil, that but little of it can now be seen; enough however appears, to show its direction; which can be traced quite across the point of land where Old Charlestown was situated. It was soon found that this original settlement was badly adapted to purposes of commerce; as vessels of large burden could not, with convenience approach it. In the year 1679, under the government of colonel West, people were therefore encouraged by the land proprietors to remove to "Oyster Point," so delightfully formed by the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper; and in the subsequent year, the foundation was laid to Charlestown "so famous for the regularity of its streets, the extent of its commerce, the elegance of its inhabitants; and during this year thirty houses were built." In the year 1783, it was incorporated by act of the Legislature; and was therein called the city of Charleston, See Drayton's view of So. Ca. p. 200—Chalmers in 2d Vol. Hist. Col. So. Ca.—also Oldmixon in ibid.

have seen upon record were directed to the governor and council of Ashley river, in which spot the first settlement was made that proved permanent and successful. This place, however, was more eligible for the convenience of navigation than for the richness of its soil. But to struggle amidst a complication of difficulties and dangers was the lot of such adventurers; to surmount which, at this early period, no small degree of fortitude, patience and perseverance must have been requisite.

New settlers in all countries and climates are subject to many hardships, especially such as are in low and indigent circumstances; but those of the first settlers of Carolina must have equalled, if not surpassed, every thing of the kind to which men in any age have been exposed. To fell the trees of the thick forest, and build habitations for themselves, would probably be their first employment, before they began to clear their spots of ground for raising the necessaries of life. In such a low country, and warm climate, even this task must have been a considerable burden. But Carolina, like other level countries overflowed with water, is productive of many disorders, such as putrid fevers, agues, dysenteries, and the like; and to fix habitations on such places where the exhalations from stagnated waters and marshy swamps poisoned the air, must have rendered them extremely unwholesome. During the summer months the climate is so sultry, that no European, without hazard, can endure the fatigues of labouring in the open air: for the most part, the weather during this season is very clear and serene, excepting when a thunder-storm happens, which cools the air, suddenly stops perspiration, and becomes exceedingly dangerous to labourers of little precaution. Besides, the violent heat continues through the night, and denies the weary workman the natural refreshment of sleep. The autumn introduces cool evenings and mornings, while the noon-day is intolerably warm; which change, together with the thick fogs that commonly fall at this season, rendered it the most unhealthy division of the

year. In winter, though the degree of cold is not so great as in the more northern climates of America, yet it is severely felt by the human body, exhausted and relaxed with the summer heat; and when the wind shifts suddenly from any quarter to the north-west or north, it blows extremely sharp and piercing, brings along with it sometimes frost and snow, and renders the warmest clothing requisite. The spring is the most temperate and delightful season of the year: it begins early, and diffuses its enlivening influence over the fields and forests. Experience had not yet taught the young colonists the methods either of improving the advantages, or guarding against the disadvantages of the climate, and therefore it is no wonder that they found themselves involved at this period in a complication of hardships.

To enhance their distress, they were surrounded with tribes of warlike savages, who viewed them with a jealous eye, and were by no means pleased at the encroachments made on their natural possessions. The tribes called Stonoes and Westoes were particularly troublesome. The colonists, indeed, were furnished with arms and ammunition from the storehouse of the proprietors, yet as they lived in the midst of perpetual alarms, their condition must have been deplorable. Nor did the musket give those strangers to the woods such an advantage over the bow and arrow in the hands of Indians, as some people may be apt to imagine. The savage, quick-sighted, and accustomed to perpetual watchfulness, springs from his den behind a bush, and surprizes his enemy with the pointed arrow before he is aware of danger. He ranges through the trackless forest like the beasts of prey, and safely sleeps under the same canopy with the wolf and bear. His vengeance is concealed, and sends the tidings in the fatal blow. The first settlers were obliged to stand in a continual posture of defence; and as they could not be supposed to understand the political methods of managing their barbarous neighbours, they must have been subjected to all the hardships arising from their ignorance and dangerous condition.

While one party was employed in raising their little habitations, another was always kept under arms, to watch the motions of these Indians. The governor shared those hardships along with his fellow adventurers, and by his example animated and encouraged them to perseverance. The only fresh provisions they could procure were fish from the river, and what game they could kill with their gun. While the settlers were struggling under the difficulties inseparable from the first state of colonization, the ship Blessing, belonging to the proprietors, commanded by Captain Matthias Halstead, happily arrived, and brought them a seasonable supply of necessaries. At the same time deputies from the other proprietors came over, to assist the governor in the discharge of the duties of his office. They brought with them twenty-three articles of instruction, called Temporary Agrarian Laws, intended for the equitable division of lands among the people; but whatever difficulties or inconveniencies might occur in the execution of them, the governor had directions to represent them to the proprietors, who had reserved to themselves the sole power of making alterations in them. At the same time, the governor received a plan of a magnificent town, to be laid out on the neck of land between the two rivers, to be called Charles-town, in honour of the king. Captain Halstead was employed, during his stay, in sounding the rivers, for the benefit of navigation, which were found sufficiently deep, and excellently calculated for the purposes of trade.

About this time the Duke of Albemarle, who was the first palatine, died, and was succeeded by the Earl of Craven, as eldest proprietor. John Locke, Sir John Yeamans, and James Carteret, were created landgraves, to make part of the nobility required by the fundamental constitutions. Sir John was the eldest son and heir of Robert Yeamans, alderman of Bristol, who was imprisoned and executed in 1643, by order of Nathaniel Fienes, son to Lord Say, who had been appointed governor of Bristol by

the parliament. His son, Sir John, was afterward advanced to the dignity of baronet by King Charles the second in 1664, as a reward for the steady loyalty and heavy sufferings of his father. But as the violence of the preceding times, which had deprived Sir John of his father, had also injured him in his private fortune, he embarked for the island of Barbadoes, at that time in a flourishing condition, to hide his poverty from his acquaintance in England, and endeavour to acquire a fortune suitable to his dignity. When Carolina was settled, having received a grant of a large tract of land from the proprietors, he, with several respectable followers, retired to that infant colony, to forward by his presence and example, the interest of his generous and beloved friends, from whom he had received great encouragement and assistance.*

Soon after his arrival in Carolina, Governor Sayle fell a sacrifice to the hardships of the climate. Upon his death the council met, and Sir John claimed the office of vice-palatine in consequence of his rank, being the only landgrave resident in the colony. But the council, who were empowered to elect a governor in such a case, chose to prefer Joseph West, until a special appointment arrived from England.† West was a popular man, much esteemed among the colonists for his activity, courage, and prudence.

* Sir John Yeamans, emigrated from Barbadoes to Cape Fear in the present state of N. Ca. and there presided as governor for several years. Upon the demise of Sayle, he claimed the government of the Southern province in right of his being a proprietor. Hewit has run into many errors, by not recollecting, that at this period, there existed three distinct governments in Carolina. The first at Albermarle, in the present North Carolina, the second at Cape Fear in the same state, and the third at Charlestown in this state. Over each of these counties (a county was originally a distinct government) there presided a governor, independent of the other counties. See Williamson's N. Ca. Vol. I. p. 92.

† West had accompanied Governor Sayle to Carolina, in the capacity of Secretary of commercial affairs to the proprietors.—See Chalmers, Vol. 2. Hist. Col. South Carolina.

However, he did not long remain in office, for the first vessel that arrived from England brought a commission to Sir John Yeamans, constituting him governor of the colony.

Here it may be remarked, that various causes contributed toward the population of this settlement, as well as those in the more northern climes. After the restoration, a total change in the manners of the English nation took place, and many of the people from the strictest rigour and severity in point of morals, became profane, dissolute and abandoned. The Cavaliers, who had suffered during the usurpation, began to retaliate on the Puritans, and having obtained the ascendency over them in public affairs, on all occasions treated them with severe ridicule and supercilious contempt. On the other hand, the morose republican party, highly offended at the licentious manners and growing wickedness of the times, ardently wished for some distant retreat to shelter themselves from the storm of divine judgments which they believed hung over the corrupted and profligate nation. To prevent disturbances from these different parties, Lord Clarendon, and many more of the king's council, from maxims of policy, encouraged emigration, which they considered as a sovereign remedy for political disorders. A new field was opened in Carolina for discontented and turbulent spirits, to whom the proprietors promised grants of land, upon condition they would transport themselves and families to that quarter. They knew that industry was a good cure for enthusiasm, and that enthusiasm was an excellent spur to new and hazardous undertakings. The privilege of liberty of conscience allowed to every one by the charter equally suited all parties, and proved a great encouragement to emigration. New-England indeed had drawn over many of the warmest and most turbulent republicans, and proved a happy shelter to some against the terrors of future reckonings. Still, however, multitudes remained in the nation, who, being discontented with their present circumstances, were willing to seek

for liberty of conscience in the deserts of America. Accordingly, many dissenters embraced the offers of the proprietors, and the infant colony received its earliest acquisitions from this restless and troublesome party.

Other reasons of state contributed to render those new settlements seasonably useful and important to the king. Several of his zealous friends had been ruined by their steady adherence to his family during the civil war, which had subverted the English monarchy; many brave officers and soldiers of the royal army had been reduced to indigent circumstances, for whom the king could make little provision in England; these useful subjects and faithful friends merited the compassion of their country, and being inured to face dangers, for landed estates were willing to accept of grants in the neighbourhood of Indian savages. By this time several of the settlers in Virginia and Barbadoes had been successful, and having surmounted the difficulties attending the first state of colonization, were living in easy and plentiful circumstances. The lands of Carolina were esteemed equal, if not superior in value, to those of the northern colonies. Here the servants of the king could provide for his friends without any expense to the nation, and by this means not only secured their attachment, but also extended his power. Grants of land were allowed them in Carolina by the proprietors, where it was thought they might in time enrich themselves, and become beneficial to the commerce and navigation of the mother country.

From this period every year brought new adventurers to Carolina. The friends of the proprietors were invited to it, by the flattering prospects of obtaining landed estates at an easy rate. Others took refuge there from the frowns of fortune and the rigour of unmerciful creditors. Youth reduced to misery by giddy passion and excess embarked for the new settlement, where they found leisure to reform, and where necessity taught them the unknown virtues of prudence and temperance. Restless spirits, fond of roving abroad, found also the means of gratifying their humours,

and abundance of scope for enterprise and adventure. It cannot be deemed wonderful if many of them were disappointed, especially such as emigrated with sanguine expectations. The gayety, luxury and vices of the city were bad qualifications for rural industry, and rendered some utterly unfit for the frugal simplicity and laborious task of the first state of cultivation. An hardy race, inured to labour, hunger, and fatigue, were best adapted for making impressions on the thick forest, and not such emigrants as left the city, tinctured with its vices and fond of luxury and ease. Nor could the Puritans, who settled before them, promise themselves much greater success than their neighbours: though more rigid and austere in their manners, and more religiously disposed, their scrupulosity about trifles and ceremonies, and their violent and litigious dispositions, created trouble to all around them, and disturbed that general harmony so necessary to the welfare and prosperity of the young settlement. From the various principles which actuated the populace of England, and the different sects who composed the first settlers of Carolina, nothing less could be expected, but that the seeds of division should be imported into that country with its earliest inhabitants.

We are apt to attend chiefly to the desolating wars, or the great and surprising revolutions which happen to kingdoms in their populous and advanced state, and to pass over the events of their rise and progress as trifling and inconsiderable; but as the greatest nations upon earth have gradually sprung from such beginnings, it is no less curious and instructive to view the smaller transactions of their infant state, than the grander events of their mature age. Kingdoms in the political world, like plants in the vegetable, have their stages of rise, progress, perfection and decline; and, in the fields of nature, it is equally pleasant to mark the buds of the spring, as the bloom of summer, or the decay of autumn.

One advantage certainly attended the various settlements

in America, of which no European state can boast. Being peopled from civilized nations in an enlightened age, when records are carefully kept and faithfully preserved, the events of their rise and progress, though not so important, were equally clear as those of their more perfect state: whereas the history of the origin of eastern nations could only be transmitted to future generations by the songs of bards or oral tradition. Ignorance of geography, and the art of printing not being then invented, must have rendered the transactions of rude and barbarous ages so precarious and obscure, that if the dead of past ages were to revive, they could scarcely be able to recognize the complexion of their own times. Even in the ages preceding the invention of printing, and the happy reformation, many events lie buried in darkness and oblivion. The small knowledge which then existed being confined to the clergy, their accounts do not merit entire credit; for the various orders of ecclesiastics at that time were too much under the influence of monkish pride and superstition, to transmit faithful memorials to posterity.

Before the year 1667, there is no mention made of America in any treaty between England and Spain, the latter being contented to keep up her ancient claims to that country, and the former careful to keep and improve the footing she had already gained in it. However, a few years after Carolina was settled, Sir William Godolphin concluded a treaty with Spain, in which, among other articles, it was agreed, "that the King of Great Britain should always possess, in full right of sovereignty and property, all the countries, islands, and colonies, lying and situated in the West Indies, or any part of America, which he and his subjects then held and possessed, insomuch that they neither can nor ought thereafter to be contested on any account whatsoever." The Bucaniers, who had for many years infested Spanish America, were now cut off from all future protection from the English government in their hostile invasions of these dominions, and all commissions

formerly granted to such pirates, were recalled and annulled. By this treaty, the freedom of navigation in these American seas was opened to both nations; and all ships in distress, whether from storms, or the pursuit of enemies and pirates, taking refuge in places belonging either to Britain or Spain, were to be treated with humanity, to meet with protection and assistance, and to be permitted to depart without molestation. These things merit particular notice, as by this treaty Spain evidently gave up all future pretensions to the country of Carolina granted to the proprietors by the king; and this freedom of navigation, provided for in such express terms, was violated, as we shall afterward see, by the Spaniards, and proved the occasion of a bloody war between the two nations. Not long after this, a treaty of neutrality between Britain and France was also concluded; by which negotiations the possessions of Great Britain, France, and Spain, in the western world, were better ascertained; and the freedom of commerce and navigation was more firmly established by those three great potentates, than had taken place in any former period.

It is not improbable that King Charles the second, during his exile, had acquired in Holland some knowledge in trade, and seen the vast advantage resulting from it to that republic; for after his return to his native dominions, he made the naval strength of England, and her commercial affairs, the principal objects of attention. He instituted a select council of commerce, consisting of a president, vice president, and nine counsellors, for the encouragement of trade, navigation and the colonies. Instead of the former method, of referring all commercial concerns to a fluctuating committee of the privy-council, this institution was intended to chalk out a particular line of duty, which was to engage the whole attention of that board. But the king was so immersed in private luxuries and pleasures, that it was difficult to keep him steady and firm to any laudable public regulation. The annual expense attending this excellent institution he soon found was too heavy, and therefore it

was dropt, and the affairs of commerce returned to their former tedious and fluctuating channel.

In Carolina Sir John Yeamans had entered on the government with an uncommon zeal for the success of the settlement, and a grateful anxiety to discharge the duties of his trust with fidelity and honour. The proprietors, fond of their new form of government, had instructed him to use his endeavours to introduce it, as the most excellent of its kind, and wisely adapted to promote the prosperity and happiness of the people. Accordingly, Sir John summoned the people together, ordered the fundamental constitutions to be read, and representatives to be elected.* The province was divided into four counties, called Berkeley, Colleton, Craven, and Carteret counties. The people, who had hitherto lived under a kind of military government, now began to form a legislature for establishing civil regulation. Ten members were elected as representatives for Colleton, and ten for Berkeley counties.† A committee, consisting of Stephen Bull, Ralph Marshall, and William Owen, were nominated for framing some public regulations. Three acts were proposed by them as beneficial; the first, to prevent persons leaving the colony; the second, to prohibit all men from disposing of arms and ammunition to Indians; and the third, for the regular building of Charles-town.

Notwithstanding the public treaty already mentioned, a religious society of the Spanish nation laid claim to the large

* This was the first Parliament held in South Carolina which passed acts, which were ratified by the Proprietors, and preserved in the records of the colony. The date of its meeting was 1674. See Chalmers. 2d Vol. Hist. Col. So. Ca.

† Berkeley, filled the space around the capital, as far as Stono creek, on the north, and the Sewee on the South; Craven occupied the district to the northward of it, toward Cape Fear, formerly denominated Clarendon; and Colleton contained Port Royal, and the lands in its vicinity, to the distance of thirty miles. The first of these counties, was the only one so populated, as to have a county court for the determination of its local affairs, and the members which composed the lower house of Parliament were all chosen at Charlestown.—Chalmers, 2d Vol. Hist. Col. South Carolina.

territory of Florida, not only on the foot of prior discovery, but also by virtue of a grant from the pope; and the garrison kept at Augustine regarding the British settlement as an encroachment on their possessions, were disposed to throw every difficulty in the way of the Carolineans, in order to compel them to relinquish the country. They encouraged indented servants to leave their masters, and fly to them for liberty and protection. They instilled into the savage tribes the most unfavourable notions of British heretics, and urged them on to the destruction of the colony.* Good policy required that the governor should keep a watchful eye on the motions of such neighbours, and guard his weak and defenceless colony against the pernicious designs of their Spanish rivals. Some men he discovered who were attempting to entice servants to revolt; these were ordered to receive so many stripes. Others, in defiance of the feeble power of the magistrate, took to such courses as were subversive of public peace and justice. Except a few negroes whom Sir John Yeamans and his followers brought along with them from Barbadoes, there were no labourers but Europeans for the purposes of culture. Until the fields were cleared the brute creation could afford the planters no assistance; the weak arm of man alone had to encounter all the hardships of clearing and cultivation, and the thick forest seemed to bid defiance to his strength. Hard indeed was the task of these labourers while employed in felling the large and lofty trees, and all the while exposed to the heat of an inclement sky, and the terrors of barbarous enemies: with great truth it may be said of them, that they purchased their scanty morsel with the sweat of their brows. After all, the provisions they raised were exposed to the plundering parties of savage neighbours, and one day often robbed them of the dear-bought fruits of their whole year's toil.

* Some idea of the machinations of the Spaniards to destroy the English settlements, may be gleaned from the "extract from the report of Oglethope's expedition," in 2d vol. of these collections.

It is no easy matter to describe the dreadful extremities to which these poor settlers were sometimes reduced. During the government of Sir John Yeamans a civil disturbance broke out among the colonists, which threatened the ruin of the settlement. At such a distance it was very difficult for the proprietors to furnish their colony with regular supplies; and the spots of sandy and barren land they had cleared poorly rewarded their toil. Small was the skill of the planter, and European grain, which they had been accustomed to sow, proved suitable to neither soil nor climate. The emigrants being now, from sad experience, sensible of difficulties inseparable from their circumstances, began to murmur against the proprietors, and to curse the day they left their native land, to starve in a wilderness. While they gathered oysters for subsistence with one hand, they were obliged to carry their muskets for self-defence in the other. A great gun had been given to Florence O'Sullivan,* which he placed on an island situate at the mouth of the harbour, to alarm the town in cases of invasion from the Spaniards. O'Sullivan deserted his island, being ready to perish with hunger, and joined the discontented party in the town. The people became seditious and ungovernable, and threatened to compel the governor to relinquish the settlement: even Mr. Culpepper,† the surveyor-general, joined them in their complaints and murmurs. The greatest prudence and courage were requisite to prevent tumults, and animate the colonists to perseverance. Florence O'Sullivan was taken up by the marshal on a charge of sedition, and compelled to find security for his future good behaviour. One sloop, commanded by Joseph Harris, was despatched to Virginia, another to Barbadoes, to bring provisions. Happily before their return a seasonable supply arrived from England, together with a number of new settlers, which

* The present Sullivan's island was called after this individual.

† This is the person, who a few years afterward headed the famous Culpepper insurrection in North Carolina. See Williamson's History, N. C., Vol. 1, p. 130—133.

revived the drooping spirits of the people, and encouraged them to engage in more vigorous efforts. The governor, sensible of the hardships the people had suffered, the more readily forgave them for their past misconduct: but as Mr. Culpepper held an office from the proprietors, he sent him to England to be tried by them for joining the people in treasonable conspiracies against the settlement.

The garrison at Augustine having intelligence from servants who fled to them of the discontented and miserable situation of the colony in Carolina, advanced with a party under arms as far as the island of St. Helena, to dislodge or destroy the settlers. Brian Fitzpatrick, a noted villain, treacherously deserted his distressed friends on purpose to join their enemies. However, Sir John Yeamans having received a reinforcement, set his enemies at defiance. Fifty volunteers, under the command of Colonel Godfrey, marched against the Spaniards, who, on his approach, evacuated the island of St. Helena, and retreated to Augustine.

At this period, to form alliances with Indian tribes was an object of great importance with the governor and council. One circumstance proved favourable to the colony at the time of its settlement. The Westoes, a powerful and numerous tribe, who harboured an irreconcilable aversion to the white faces of strangers, would have proved a dangerous enemy to them, had not their attention been occupied by the Serannas, another Indian nation. A bloody war between these two tribes providentially raged, and was carried on with such fury, that in the end it proved fatal to both. This served to pave the way for the introduction and establishment of this British settlement, which otherwise might have shared the same unhappy fate with the first adventurers to Virginia. Many tribes besides that might no doubt have extirpated the colony, but it is probable the governor studied by every means to avoid giving them any provocation, and to conciliate their affection and esteem.

While we now and then turn our eyes to those wild hunters who ranged through the American woods, we must

guard against such false and horrid descriptions of them, as some who have suffered from their warlike temper have exhibited to the world. Many authors have discovered unreasonable prejudices against them, and shown that they either wanted judgment to distinguish, or candour to make due allowances for, the failings peculiar to all nations in the same rude and uncultivated state. When Julius Cesar carried the Roman arms into Britain, and Germanicus overrun the forests of Germany, did they not find the silvestres of those countries little, if at all, more civilized than the brown natives of America? If the Indians were offended at the encroachments made by strangers on lands which they had possessed unmolested for time immemorial, that is nothing wonderful or uncommon. Lands may be called the first property of all nations on the face of the earth. While unacquainted with the advantages of pasturage and agriculture, a greater extent of hunting lands are requisite for their subsistence. Through this territory, now possesed by Europeans, they had been accustomed to range, independent, fearless and free. If they were ready to defend their property at the risk of life, this practice is nothing more than what all nations in the same barbarous state have followed. Until laws were made to prevent and redress wrongs, and men delivered up their arms to the civil magistrate, have they not, in every age, had recourse to forcible means for the defence of their property? The natives of Carolina were doubtless displeased at the encroachments of strangers on their inheritance, and if they had not advanced a single step towards civilization, no man can reasonably expect from them a conduct incompatible with their natural circumstances. The woods abounded with deer and buffaloes, which, when young, might have been domesticated; but on such employment no Indian had entered: it probably appeared to him equally despicable as that of agriculture.

The first bond of union and affection between Europeans and Americans was conveniency. At this early period, to the Indian a knife, a hatchet, or a hoe, was a useful and

invaluable acquisition. He observed with what facility the strangers supplied their wants, which were many in comparison with his, by means of the various implements they used. The woods fell before the axe, the earth opened before the hoe or the spade; and the knife was useful on numberless occasions. He admired the skill of white men in making those implements of ease and profit, and voluntarily offered them his deer skins, the only riches he had which could procure them. The love of ease was as natural to the one as the other, and he would rather give them the profits of a year's hunting than want such instruments. Having obtained these in process of time, he found the tomahawk and musket equally useful; these he also coveted, and could not rest till he obtained them. What was at first only convenient, as his wants increased, became absolutely necessary, by which means the original bond was strengthened and confirmed. As the channel of commerce opened, the Indian found that he was not only treated with friendship and civility, but that the white people were equally fond of his skins, furs and lands, as he was of their gaudy trinkets, and various implements of convenience and advantage. It was this connexion that induced the native inhabitants of the forest, peaceably to admit strangers differing so much in complexion, language and manners, among them, and allow them to clear and cultivate their lands.

From the ignorance of Englishmen with respect to the policy and customs of these wild tribes, they must have been exposed to numberless dangers in the earlier periods of their commercial intercourse. At first, the rude manners of the western savages must have been equally strange to the European, as the civilized manners of eastern nations to the Indian. The commerce itself served to enhance the danger; for although Indians lived much dispersed, yet they united under one chief, and formed different towns, all the lands around which they claimed as their property. The boundaries of their hunting grounds being carefully fixed, each tribe was tenacious of its possessions,

and fired with resentment at the least encroachment on them. Every individual looked on himself as a proprietor of all the lands claimed by the whole tribe, and bound in honour to defend them. This may serve to account for many umbrages (which we shall afterward have occasion to mention) taken by Indians in general at purchases made and titles obtained by private persons, and even by particular provinces: for no Indian, however great his influence and authority, could give away more than his own right to any tract of land, which, in proportion, is no more than as one man to the whole tribe. To all such gifts the concurrence and consent of the whole nation must be obtained. Here a large source of difference and quarrels opened, and a foolish bargain of an individual often exposed the European settlers to the fury and vengeance of the whole clan.

Those inhabitants, like beasts of prey, traverse the forest, and while they neither encroach on their neighbours territories, nor are at war with another tribe, enjoy freedom in the most extensive sense of the word. In stature they are of a middle size, neither so tall nor yet so low as some Europeans. To appearance they are strong and well made; yet they are totally unqualified for that heavy burden or tedious labour which the vigorous and firm nerves of Europeans enable them to undergo. None of them are deformed, deformities of nature being confined to the ages of art and refinement. Their colour is brown, and their skin shines, being varnished with bears fat and paint. To appearance the men have no beards, nor hair on their head, except a round turf on its crown; but this defect is not natural, as many people are given to believe, but the effect of art, it being customary among them to tear out such hair by the root. They go naked, except those parts which natural decency teaches the most barbarous nations to cover. The huts in which they live are foul, mean and offensive; and their manner of life is poor, nasty and disgustful. In the hunting season they are eager and indefatigable in pursuit

of their prey; when that is over, they indulge themselves in a kind of brutal slumber, indolence and ease. In their distant excursions they can endure hunger long, and carry little with them for their subsistence; but in days of plenty they are voracious as vultures. While dining in company with their chieftains, we were astonished at the vast quantity of meat they devoured. Agriculture they leave to women, and consider it as an employment unworthy of a man: indeed they seem amazingly dead to the tender passions, and treat their women like slaves, or beings of an inferior rank.* Scolding, insults, quarrels, and complaints, are seldom heard among them: on solemn occasions they are thoughtful, serious, and grave; yet I have seen them free, open and merry at feasts and entertainments. In their common deportment towards each other they are respectful, peaceable, and inoffensive. Sudden anger is looked upon as ignominious and unbecoming, and, except in liquor, they seldom differ with their neighbour, or ever do him any harm or injury. As for riches they have none, nor covet any; and while they have plenty of provisions, they allow none to suffer through want: if they are successful in hunting, all their unfortunate or distressed friends share with them the common blessings of life.

Although in some particular customs the separate tribes of Indians differ from each other, yet in their general principles and mode of government they are very similar. All have general rules, with respect to other independent tribes around them, which they carefully observe. The great concerns relating to war or peace, are canvassed in assemblies of deputies from all the different towns. When injuries are committed, and Indians of one tribe happen to be killed by those of another, then such a meeting is commonly called. If no person appears on the side of the

* By a reference to the Introduction, it will be perceived, how far the Indian character has degenerated from its condition, as first presented to the Spaniards and French.

aggressors, the injured nation deputes one of their warriors to go to them, and, in name of the whole tribe, to demand satisfaction: if this is refused, and they think themselves able to undertake a war against the aggressors, then a number of warriors, commonly the relations of the deceased, take the field for revenge, and look upon it as a point of honour never to leave it till they have killed the same number of the enemy that had been slain of their kinsmen. Having accomplished this, they return home with their scalps, and by some token let their enemy know that they are satisfied. But when the nation to whom the aggressors belong, happen to be disposed to peace, they search for the murderers, and they are, by the general judgment of the nation, capitally punished, to prevent involving others in their quarrel; which act of juctice is performed often by the aggressor's nearest relations. The criminal never knows of his condemnation until the moment the sentence is to be put in execution, which often happens while he is dancing the war dance in the midst of his neighbours, and bragging of the same exploit for which he is condemned to die.

In different ages mankind in similar circumstances, with respect to their progress in improvements, bear a striking resemblance one to another. The accounts of rude and barbarous Indians may be so far curious and instructive, as they serve to throw light on several earlier periods of history, both sacred and profane. The American savages almost universally claim the right of private revenge. It is considered by them as a point of honour to avenge the injuries done to friends, particularly the death of a relation. Scalp for scalp, blood for blood, and death for death, can only satisfy the surviving friends of the injured party. The same law of retaliation was established among the ancient Jews and Romans. But should the wise and aged men of weight and influence among Indians interpose, on account of some favourable circumstances on the side of the aggressor, perhaps satisfaction may be made by way of compen-

sation. In this case, some present made to the party aggrieved serves to gratify their passion of revenge, by the loss the aggressor sustains, and the acquisition of property the injured receives. Should the injured friends refuse this kind of satisfaction, which they are entirely at liberty to do, then the murderer, however high his rank may be, must be delivered up to torture and death, to prevent the quarrel spreading wider through the nation. This custom of making compensation also prevailed among European nations in their earlier and more uncultivated ages. In the time of Tacitus, the relations of the maimed or murdered person, among the Germans, were obliged to accept of a compensation, and restrain the spirit of revenge. During the Anglo-Saxon period in England, laws were made to determine the various fines for murder, manslaughter, wounds and other injuries, and prices were fixed on the heads of men according to their rank. In case of adultery among Indians, the injured husband considers himself as under an obligation to revenge the crime, and he attempts to cut off the ears of the adulterer, provided he be able to effect it; if not, he may embrace the first opportunity that offers of killing him, without any danger from his tribe. Then the debt is paid, and the courage of the husband proved. This is more severe than the law of Ethelbert, which admitted of a fine from the adulterer, and obliged him to purchase another wife for the injured husband.

With respect to internal government, these savages have also several customs and regulations to which the individuals of the same tribe conform. Personal wisdom and courage are the chief sources of distinction among them, and individuals obtain rank and influence in proportion as they excel in these qualifications. Natural reason suggests, that the man of the greatest abilities ought to be the leader of all possessed of inferior endowments; in him they place the greatest confidence, and follow him to war without envy or murmur. As this warrior arrives at honour and distinction by the general consent; so, when chosen, he must be

very circumspect in his conduct, and gentle in the exercise of his power. By the first unlucky or unpopular step he forfeits the good will and confidence of his countrymen, upon which all his power is founded. Besides the head warrior, they have judges and conjurers, whom they call Beloved Men, who have great weight among them; none of whom have indeed any coercive authority, yet all are tolerably well obeyed. In this commonwealth every man's voice is heard, and at their public deliberations the best speakers generally prevail. When they consult together about important affairs, such as war or peace, they are serious and grave, and examine all the advantages and disadvantages of their situation with great coolness and deliberation, and nothing is determined but by the general consent. When war is the result of their councils, and the great leader takes the field, any one may refuse to follow him, or may desert him, without incurring any punishment; but by such ignominious conduct he loses his reputation, and forfeits the hopes of distinction and preferment. To honour and glory from warlike exploits the views of every man are directed, and therefore they are extremely cautious and watchful against doing any action for which they may incur public censure and disgrace.

The Indians, like all ignorant and rude nations, are very superstitious. They believe that superior beings interfere in, and direct, human affairs, and invoke all spirits, both good and evil, in hazardous undertakings. Each tribe have their conjurers and magicians, on whose prophetic declarations they place much confidence, in all matters relating to health, hunting, and war. They are fond of prying into future events, and therefore pay particular regard to signs, omens, and dreams. They look upon fire as sacred, and pay the author of it a kind of worship. At the time of harvest and at full moon they observe several feasts and ceremonies, which it would seem were derived from some religious origin. As their success, both in warlike enterprises and in procuring subsistence depends greatly on

fortune, they have a number of ceremonious observances before they enter on them. They offer in sacrifice a part of the first deer or bear they kill, and from this they flatter themselves with the hopes of future success. When taken sick they are particularly prone to superstition, and their physicians administer their simple and secret cures with a variety of strange ceremonies and magic arts, which fill the patients with courage and confidence, and are sometimes attended with happy effects.

1674. During the time Sir John Yeamans was governor of Carolina, the colony received a great addition to its strength from the Dutch settlement of Nova Belgia, which, without any resistance, surrendered to the armament commanded by Sir Robert Carr, and became subject to England. Charles the second gave it to his brother the Duke of York, who called the province New-York, and governed it on the same arbitrary principles which afterward rendered him so obnoxious to the English nation. After the conquest many of the Dutch colonists, who were discontented with their situation, had formed resolutions of moving to other provinces. The proprietors of Carolina offered them lands and encouragement in their palatinate, and sent their ships Blessing and Phœnix and brought a number of Dutch families to Charlestown. Stephen Bull, surveyor-general of the colony, had instructions to mark out lands on the southwest side of Ashley river for their accommodation. There each of the Dutch emigrants drew lots for their property, and formed a town, which was called James-town. This was the first colony of Dutch who settled in Carolina, whose industry surmounted incredible hardships, and whose success induced many from ancient Belgia afterward to follow them to the western world. The inhabitants of James-town, afterward finding their situation too narrow and circumscribed, in process of time spread themselves through the country, and the town was totally deserted.

About the year 1674, Sir John Yeamans being reduced to a feeble and sickly condition by the warm climate, and

his indefatigable labours for the success of the settlement, returned to Barbadoes, where he died.* After his departure the grand council again chose Joseph West governor; and the palatine confirmed the election. A meeting of all the freemen was called at Charlestown, where they elected representatives, for the purpose of making laws for the government of the colony. Thomas Gray, Henry Hughs, Maurice Mathews, and Christopher Portman, were chosen deputies from the people, and took their seat at the upper house of assembly. These new members were obliged to take an oath, that they should show equity and justice to both rich and poor, without favour or affection; that they should observe the laws of England, and those that should hereafter be established in the colony; that they should obey the rules and directions of the proprietors; that they should not divulge the secrets of the grand council, without sufficient authority from that board. A question being put, whether the deputies of the proprietors should take the same oath? it was judged unnecessary, as they held their appointments during pleasure, and were immediately answerable to the proprietors for their conduct. Now the colony had its governor, its upper and lower house of

* Sir John Yeamans, says Williamson, "who had ruled a small colony (Cape Fear) with prudence and moderation, became insolent, unjust, and tyrannical, when he governed a people by whom he had not been chosen. He was vitiated by prosperity; wherefore the proprietors in consequence of numerous complaints removed him from the government." Hist. of N. Ca. Vol. 1. p. 119. Other historians, differ from the view given of Sir John's character by Williamson. His removal from office by the proprietors, is supposed to have arisen from his eargerness to procure ample supplies for the colonist—a policy which the proprietors were not very willing to encourage. (See Grahame, U. S. Vol. 2 p. 117.) Had this been the case, and had the supplies been honestly bestowed upon those for whom they were drawn, Yeaman's memory has certainly been unfairly dealt with. But a strong presumstive proof against his honesty, is in the fact, that, he assumed the government penniless, and died in two or three years afterward, possessed of a handsome estate, acquired in the province. Hist. N. Ca. Vol. 1. p. 119.

assembly, which three branches took the name of Parliament, agreeable to the constitutions. This was the first parliament that passed acts which are ratified by the proprietors, and found on record in the colony.

It might have been expected, that these adventurers, who were all embarked on the same design, would be animated by one spirit, and zealous above all things to maintain harmony and peace among themselves; they had all the same hardships to encounter, the same enemies to fear, and the same cause, the prosperity of the settlement, to promote. In such circumstances, the governor had good reason to hope, that one common desire of safety, and principle of love and friendship, would pervade the whole colony; yet nothing is more certain than that the contrary effect took place. The most numerous party in the country were dissenters, of various denominations, from the established church of England; which body of men, whatever high pretensions they may affect to superior sanctity of manners, have not always been found the most peaceable members of society. A number of cavaliers having received grants from the proprietors, had now brought over their families and effects, and joined the Puritans in Carolina. The latter were looked upon by the proprietors with a partial eye, as men of honour, loyalty and fidelity, and met with great indulgence and encouragement; by which means they thrust themselves into offices of trust and authority. The Puritans, on the other hand, viewed them with the eye of envy and jealousy, and having suffered from them in England, could not bear to see the smallest share of power committed to them in Carolina. Hence the seeds of strife and division, which had been imported into the colony, began to spring forth, and, as if brought to a warmer and more fertile soil, to grow so rank as to promise little peace and happiness to the young settlement. No common dangers or difficulties could blot out of their memories the prejudices and animosities contracted in England: the odious terms of distinction were revived and propagated among the

people, and while one party were attached to the church of England, the other, who had fled from the rigour of ecclesiastical power, were jealous above all things of religious liberties, and could bear no encroachment on them. The governor found that matters of religion were tender points, and therefore wisely avoided all deliberations about them, choosing rather to leave every man to his free choice, than propose an establishment of any kind, which he saw would occasion trouble and division among the people.

Another source of difficulty arose to government from the different manners of these colonists. These emigrants were not a people accustomed to rural labours and frugal simplicity, but many of them pampered citizens, whose wants luxury had increased, and rendered them impatient of fatigue and the restraints of legal authority. The sober and morose life, the stiff and rigid morals of the Puritans, were made the objects of ridicule by their neighbours, and all the powers of wit and humour were employed in exposing them to public derision and contempt. Their levelling spirit, republican principles, and contentious disposition, they declared merited the hatred and abhorrence of every man of honour and honesty, as they had served to produce in England that race of sly, deceitful and hypocritical wretches, who had been the curse and scourge of the nation. The Puritans, on the other hand, possessed of no small share of rancour and malevolence, and exasperated by their licentious manners and grievous abuse, violently opposed their influence among the people. Hence arose a number of difficulties in framing laws, in distributing justice, and in maintaining public order and tranquillity. Governor West, observing those dissentions breaking out in the settlement, was at no small pains to keep them within the bounds of moderation, but having a council composed of ambitious cavaliers, was unable entirely to check the disorder. In spite of his authority, the Puritans were treated with insolence and neglect, and the colony, distracted with domestic differences, were ill prepared for defence against external

enemies: not only so, but such divisions occasioned a neglect of industry and application, which prevented the country from making that progress in improvement which might have been expected from its natural advantages.

At this unfavourable juncture the Indians, from Stono, came down in straggling parties, and plundered the plantations of the scanty and dearly earned fruits of labour and industry. Being accustomed to the practice of killing whatever came in their way, they ranked the planter's hogs, turkeys and geese among their game, and freely preyed upon them. The planters as freely made use of their arms in defence of their property, and several Indians were killed during their depredations. This occasioned a war, and the Indians poured their vengeance indiscriminately, as usual, on the innocent and guilty, for the loss of their friends. Governor West found it necessary to encourage and reward such of the colonists as would take the field against them for the public defence. Accordingly, a price was fixed on every Indian the settlers should take prisoner, and bring to Charlestown. These captive savages were disposed of to the traders, who sent them to the West-Indies, and there sold them for slaves. This traffic was deemed by some an inhuman method of getting rid of troublesome neighbours; yet, at this period, the planters had some reasons to plead in its vindication. Lands indeed were given as the reward of valour; but lands, without hands to cultivate them, were rather a burden, than any way beneficial, to men who were allowed more by the proprietors than they could turn to any profit. But the planters had an immediate reward for Indian prisoners, and while it encouraged bold adventurers, it was made a profitable branch of trade. Whether the rum which was imported into the colony, in return for these Indians, proved of beneficial consequence or not, we shall not pretend to determine, as this depended on the use or abuse that was made of it. Where the water is bad, a little rum mixed with it is accounted wholesome and nourishing; but excess in drinking, every where, destroys the con-

stitution, and proves a fruitful spring of pains, diseases, and death.

Though Carolina lies in the same latitude with some of the most fertile countries on the globe, yet he is in danger of error who forms his judgment of its climate from the latitude in which it lies. Many local circumstances concur to occasion a difference between it and Palestine, the north of Egypt, or the dominions in the same latitude in China. Besides the black mountains, frozen lakes, and the large uncultivated territory over which the north and north-west winds blow in winter, by which they are rendered dangerous; when the extreme heat of summer is united with a low marshy soil, where the water stagnates, and the effluvia arising from it thicken and poison the air, it must prove the occasion of a numberless list of fatal distempers. This last circumstance serves to decide the healthiness of climates in every latitude. Sudden changes from heat to cold are every where dangerous; but, in countries where little caution is used in dress, they must often prove fatal. The winds in Carolina are changeable and erratic, and, about the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, commonly boisterous. In summer, they are sultry and suffocating; in winter, cold and dry. Beyond doubt, the flat maritime part is a most unhealthy situation, and the first settlers could scarcely have been cast ashore in any quarter of the globe where they could be exposed to greater hazards from the climate.

Yet the country, low and unhealthy as it is, affords many advantages for commerce and navigation. As you approach towards the shore, the sea gradually ebbs, which furnishes good soundings for the help of navigators. For eighty, and in some places an hundred, miles from the Atlantic, the country is an even plain, no rocks, no stones, scarce a hill of any height is to be seen. Backwards from this the lands begin to rise gradually into little hills and beautiful inequalities, which continue increasing in height and variation until you advance to the Apalachian mountains, three hundred miles and more from the sea. Here a vast ridge of moun-

tains begins, and runs through North America, in the bowels of which no man can say what riches lie in store. These mountains give rise to four large rivers, called by their Indian names, Alatahama, Savanna, Santee and Pedee. Among the hills these rivers are composed of different branches, and run in a rapid course; but lose their velocity when they reach the plains, through which they glide smoothly along, in a serpentine course, to the ocean. Up these large rivers the tide flows a considerable way, and renders them navigable for ships, brigs, sloops and schooners, and smaller craft force their way still higher than the tide flows. Besides these large rivers, the hills in the heart of the country give rise to others of a secondary size, such as Ogetchee, Cusaw, Cambahee, Edisto, Ashley, Cooper, and Black rivers; all which are also navigable many miles from the ocean. The coast is also chequered with a variety of fine Islands, around which the sea flows, and opens excellent channels, for the easy conveyance of produce to the market.

By the different trees which cover the lands the soil is distinguished, which in some places is very rich, and in others very poor. Where the pine-trees grow the ground is sandy and barren, and produces little except in rainy seasons. The oaks and hickories delight to grow in a lower and richer soil, running in narrow streaks through the different eminences, which grounds, when cleared and cultivated, amply reward the industrious planter. The cypresses and canes choose a still deeper and more miry soil, which is exceedingly fruitful, having had the fruits and foliage of trees from the higher grounds flowing into it from the creation. The river swamp lands, by proper culture and judicious management, are of inexhaustible fertility. The savannas and open plains are of a deep fat and greasy mould, which when drained and freshened, become also fruitful and excellent parts of a plantation. The marshy grounds, some of which are fresh and others salt, are much neglected, yet they yield a kind of grass grateful to some animals, and are

used as yet only for pasturage. Many years elapsed before the planters found out the different grains suited to those different soils, and we shall take occasion to mention them as time and experience taught them the useful discoveries. The soil of the hilly country differs from all these; for there, in the valleys between the hills, a black and deep loam is found, probably formed of rotten trees and vegetables, which the showers and floods have carried into them from the adjacent heights. Marble, clay, chalk, and gravel grounds are also observed among these hills in the middle of the country, and a variety of soil nearly similar to that found in Europe.

At this period Carolina, in her natural and rural robes, to an ingenious stranger must have exhibited a noble and striking appearance, as all objects of nature do in their primeval state. Still we may fancy what new scenes would command his attention, and excite his admiration. A thunderstorm here is a grand phenomenon, especially in the night; it is said to be the voice of the supreme Author of nature, whose command all the various elements obey, and it speaks his majesty and glory in the loudest and most exalted strain. The frequent balls of fire bursting from cloud to cloud; the forked flashes darting from the clouds to the earth, and from the earth to the clouds alternately, illuminating the whole surrounding atmosphere, and men, like so many worms, crawling in the dust in the midst of flaming fire, form a magnificent and striking scene. The continual muttering noise of thunder at a distance the dreadful explosion on the right hand, the repercussive roar on the left, while the solid foundations of the earth shake, and the goodly frame of nature seems ready to dissolve, to the eyes of an intelligent stranger must have appeared awful and great. The beasts of the field retire from the thicket, and show evident symptoms of silent awe and astonishment during the storm, and man's ultimate source of confidence is in the divine protection. In every quarter you meet with the blasted trees of

the forest, which wither and decay at the lightning's stroke. No earthquakes, such as are commonly known in the West India islands, have ever been felt here; but whirlwinds sometimes have made avenues through the thick forest, by levelling the loftiest trees, or sweeping them away before them like chaff. These terrible blasts are generally confined to a narrow tract, and run in an oblique and crooked direction. Hurricanes have also often visited the country, and through such low and flat lands have spread their desolation far and wide.

In travelling along the coast of Carolina, partly by water and partly by land, the stranger has an excellent view of the natural beauties, and rural inhabitants of the forest. At a distance the marches and savannas appear like level meadows, with branches or creeks of the sea running through them. On one hand the evergreen pines appear, and engross almost the whole higher lands of the country; on the other the branching oaks and stately hickories stand covered with mossy robes: now he passes a grove covered with cypress; then the laurels, the bays, the palmetoes, the beech or mulberry-trees surround him, all growing as the hand of nature hath wildly scattered them. In the spring the dogwood, cherry-trees, and many others blossom, and, together with the jessamines, perfume the air; while the luxuriant vines climb over the loftiest trees, and bushes or shrubs of humbler growth fill up the thicket.

At this early period the rude hunters, though masters of the woods, while they attracted the attention of the stranger, must also have convinced him how little human nature uncultivated is exalted above the brute creation. Numbers of deer, timorous and wild, ranged through the trees, and herds of buffaloes were found grazing in the savannas. Above his head the feathered tribes, more remarkable for the splendour of their plumage than the harmony of their notes, would fly; whilst under his feet would crawl innumerable reptiles and insects. Here it may not be improper to enu-

merate some of the different kinds of living creatures found in the country, and leave the particular description of them to the natural historian.

Beyond doubt Carolina teems with animals both of the useful and hurtful kind. The alligator, probably a species of the crocodile, is found here nigh the rivers and ponds, and is very destructive to young creatures about a plantation. He is perhaps the largest animal, except the crocodile in Africa, of the ovarious kind. The bear is a fierce animal, but in many respects a rich prize to th eIndian hunter. The beaver is also a native of Carolina, and his fur is a precious article of American commerce. The raccoon and opossum are also natives of the country, and scarcely found in any other continent. The latter demands the particular notice of naturalists; its young are said to breed at the female's teats, which is furnished with a double belly, into one of which, on the appearance of danger, the young ones retreat, and are saved by being carried up a tree. The leopard, the panther, the wolf, the fox, the rabbit, wild and pole cats, are all found in the country, on which the American hunter pours his vengeance. Squirrels of various kinds and different hues are numerous here; one of which is called the flying squirrel, not from its having wings like a bird, but from its being furnished with a fine loose skin between its fore and hind legs, which it contracts or expands at pleasure, and which buoys it up, and enables it to spring from branch to branch at considerable distances, with amazing nimbleness.

In the mouth of the rivers, and on the coast, the shark, the porpoise, the sword, the guarr, and devil fishes, are all found, but in no respects rendered useful. However, the sea coast and rivers furnish a variety of fine fish for human use, both of the salt and fresh-water kinds. The angel fish, so called for their uncommon splendour; the sheephead, so named from its having teeth like those of sheep; the cavalli, the mullet, the whiting, the plaice, and young bass, are all esteemed delicate food. Besides these, porgy,

shads, trout, stringre, drum, cat, and black fish, are all used, and taken in great abundance. The fresh-water rivers and ponds furnish stores of fish, all of which are excellent in their season. The sturgeon and rock fish, the fresh-water trout, the pike, the bream, the carp, and roach, are all fine fish, and found in plenty. Nigh the sea-shore vast quantities of oysters, crabs, shrimps, &c. may be taken, and sometimes a kind of turtle.

There were also vast numbers of winged fowls found in the country, many of which for human use and subsistence. Besides eagles, falcons, cormorants, gulls, buzzards, hawks, herons, cranes, marsh-hens, jays, woodpeckers: there are wild turkeys, pigeons, black-birds, woodcocks, little partridges, plovers, curlieus and turtle-doves, in great numbers; and also incredible flocks of wild geese, ducks, teal, snipes, and rice-birds. There has been found here, nigh rivers, a bird of an amazing size, some think it a species of the pelican. Under its beak, which is very long, it is furnished with a large bag, which it contracts or lets loose at pleasure, to answer the necessities or conveniences of life. The summer duck is a well known and beautiful creature, and has got this name to distinguish it from others of the same species, which continue not in the country during the summer months, but search for a cooler retreat. The mockbird of Carolina is a fine bold creature, which mimics the various voices of the forest, both in captivity and in the enjoyment of natural freedom. The red bird is exceedingly beautiful, and has a soft melodious note, but with few variations. The humming bird is remarkable for its small size, flies from flower to flower like a bee, and is sometimes caught by children while lying buried in a large flower it is sucking out the juice. Its nest is very curious, and discovers amazing art and contrivance. These are some of the feathered inhabitants of this forest, among which there is little melody, and, were it otherways, the music would all be lost, by the continual croaking of frogs, which swarm in millions over the flat country.

While ranging over the natural field, there is no reptile merits more particular notice than the rattle-snake, which is one of the most formidable living creatures in the whole universe. Providence hath kindly furnished him with a tail which makes a rattling noise, and no doubt was intended to warn every other creature of the danger of approaching nigh him. He indeed possesses that noble fortitude, which is harmless unless when provoked and molested. He is never the aggressor, and seems averse from making use of his weapons of destruction. He flies from man; but when pursued, and he finds he cannot escape, he instantly gathers himself into a coil, and prepares for self-defence. He has a sharp and sparkling eye, and quickly spies any person approaching towards him, and winds his course out of the way into some thicket or concealed place. The greatest danger is, when we inadvertently trample upon him as he lies coiled among the long grass or thick bushes. On each side of his upper jaw he has two long fangs, which are hollow, and through which he injects the poison into the wound they make. When he penetrates a vein or nerve sudden death ensues, unless some effectual remedy be instantly applied. The usual symptoms of being bit by him are, acute pains from the wound, inflammatory swellings round it, sickness at the stomach, and convulsive vomitings. In all countries, however, where venomous creatures exist, the hand of nature hath kindly planted some antidote against their poison, which it is the business of rational creatures to investigate and apply. Even the rude and ignorant Indians were not strangers to the method of curing the wounds of this dreadful reptile; as quickly as possible, after being bit, they swallowed a strong dose of the decoction of snake-root, which they found every where growing in the woods, which caused them to vomit plentifully; at the same time, having sucked the poison out of the wound, they chewed a little snake-root, and applied it externally to it. This remedy, when timely applied, sometimes proved efficacious,

which induced the early settlers of Carolina to follow their example. Besides the rattle-snake, the black and brown vipers have fangs, and are also venomous. The horn-snake is also found here, which takes his name from a horn in his tail, with which he defends himself, and strikes it with great force into every aggressor. This reptile is also deemed very venomous, and the Indians, when wounded by him, usually cut out the part wounded as quickly as possible, to prevent the infection spreading through the body. There are, besides these, a variety of other snakes found here such as the green, the chicken, the copperbelly, the wampum, the coach-whip and corn snakes; all of which are esteemed harmless creatures.

Innumerable are the insects in Carolina, as might naturally be expected from the heat of the climate. The bees are found in several places, and they choose the hollow trees for their habitation, but whether imported or not is uncertain. The fire-fly, so called from its emitting sparks of fire in the night, resembling flashes from the strokes of steel upon flint, is a curious creature. About the beginning of summer, when these insects are very numerous, they illuminate the woods, and strike a stranger with astonishment. Millions of pestiferous gnats, called Moschetoes, are hatched during the summer, and swarm over the country in such numbers, that, during the day, it requires no small trouble for the inhabitants to defend themselves in every quarter against them; and, during the night, gause pavilions are necessarily used, to exclude them from their beds, without which it is impossible to enjoy undisturbed repose. The sand-flies are also vexatious insects, and so minute, that one would imagine it needless to provide any defence against them; yet, wherever they bite, their poison occassions itching and painful inflammations. Besides these, there are ticks, flies, wasps, and many more insects which are very troublesome. To these plagues, with which this country is cursed, we may also add the water wood-worms,

which infest the rivers as far as the salt-water flows, eat the bottoms of vessels into the form of honey-combs, and prove extremely destructive to shipping.

About the year 1681, Governor West having incurred the displeasure of the proprietors, Joseph Morton, who had lately been created a landgrave, received a commission from Lord Craven, investing him with the government of the colony.* About the same time, Joseph Blake sold his estate in England, and with his family and several substantial followers retired to Carolina. Lord Cardross also, a nobleman of Scotland, having formed a project for carrying over some of his countrymen to Carolina, embarked with a few families, and made an attempt to establish a colony on Port-Royal Island: but observing the government in a confused and fluctuating state, he soon after returned to Britain.† The island on which he left his few followers having excellent conveniences for navigation, was a place of all others in the country the most advantageous for a settlement; but, to effect it, a greater number of emigrants was absolutely requisite. The Spaniards sent an armed force, and dislodged the Scotch settlers, after which no attempts were made for many years towards establishing a colony in that quarter.

About the same time, William Penn, an eminent quaker, obtained a grant from the king of a large territory in the middle of North America, which he called Pennsylvania, and which he resolved to settle on the enlarged bottom of universal benevolence, friendship and humanity. Not satis-

* West is said to have incurred the displeasure of the proprietors, on account of his introducing the traffic in Indians, and from his having been instrumental in curbing the overbearing conduct of the Cavaliers, who were accounted the proprietary party.—Grahame's United States, Vol. 2. p. 139.

† Lord Cardross had emigrated to Carolina, to avoid the barbarous administration of the Duke of Lauderdale at home. To himself and colony was promised, co-ordinate authority with the governor and grand council at Charlestown; and it was under the disappointment occasioned, upon the refusal of confirming this agreement, that this Scotch nobleman and his party deserted Port-Royal.

fied with the title he held from the crown to this extensive territory, he thought himself bound in conscience to purchase one also from its natural possessors, and therefore gave the Indians some consideration for their property; by which means he obtained not only an equitable right, but peaceable possession. At first, it is probable, he intended his province as an asylum for the harmless and peaceable people of his own persuasion, who were oppressed in Britain, and persecuted in a degree equal to the Spanish inquisition in New England; yet, so liberal were his principles, that he opened a door to mankind in general who were unhappy in their external circumstances, and persecuted for their conscientious opinions. His plan of settlement was so large, and the regulations he established for preventing idleness, luxury and vice, were so wise and judicious, as soon to attract the eyes and admiration of vast numbers of men in the different quarters of Europe. Multitudes flocked to Pennsylvania, and sat down happy under Penn's gentle laws and government. His own example of benevolence, frugality and temperance, endeared him to every inhabitant; and a general simplicity of manners for several years prevailed in the settlement. It remained for the future ages of pride, luxury and ambition, to defeat the wise maxims of this legislator. A plan of a city was framed, which, for order, beauty and magnificence, was excelled by none upon earth. Indeed, every thing relating to the first settlement of that province was conducted with such wisdom and equity, that it could not fail of speedy population and improvement. The industrious planters and merchants of Pennsylvania, soon advanced to an easy and independent state; an advantage far from being common to the other British settlements in America, and therefore to be ascribed chiefly to their general harmony, temperance and application.

The colony of Carolina, though planted at an earlier period, from various causes and impediments, advanced by slower steps in population and improvement. Pennsylvania, being farther removed from the equator, was consider-

ed as a better climate. The lands were found better adapted to British grain, and more favourably situated for cultivation. Like a younger beauty, she attracted the eyes of many admirers, and promised to be a powerful rival to Carolina. She flattered her labourers with the prospects of longer life, and with the hopes of greater increase in those kinds of grain they had been accustomed to cultivate in Europe. Her institutions, with respect to government, were more applicable and prudent; her planters, blessed with health and good-humour, laboured with greater pleasure and success: the tribes of savages around her, being more gently used, were more peaceable. Hence it happened, that the Pennsylvanians, having fewer obstacles to surmount than their southern neighbours, prospered in a more rapid manner.

The proprietors of Carolina had indeed instructed Governor Morton to take all Indians within four hundred miles of Charlestown under his protection, and to treat them with humanity and tenderness; but such instructions were very disagreeable to many of the people, especially to those members of the council who were concerned in the Indian trade, and therefore great opposition was raised to the execution of them. Maurice Mathews, James Moore, and Arthur Middleton, members of the council, warmly opposed the governor, while he proposed regulations for the peaceable management of Indians, and considered the proprietors as strangers to the interest of their colony by such impolitic restrictions. The people, who had lost some friends and relations by the savages were also greatly irritated against them, and breathed nothing but vengeance and implacable resentment. These members of the council were removed from it for their disobedience; nevertheless they had such influence among the people, as to occasion great trouble to the governor, and totally to subvert his authority; in consequence of which, Joseph West appeared again at the head of the colony, and gave his assent to several laws made in it. During which time the people followed their former

practice, of inveigling and kidnapping Indians wherever they found them, and shipped them off to the West Indies, without any restraint from government.

Soon after Governor West was superseded by Sir Richard Kirle, an Irish gentleman, who died six months after his arrival in the country. After his decease, Colonel Robert Quarry was chosen his successor. During the time of his government, a number of pirates put into Charlestown, and purchased provisions with their Spanish gold and silver. Those public robbers, instead of being taken and tried by the laws of England, were treated with great civility and friendship, in violation of the laws of nations. Whether the governor was ignorant of the treaty made with Spain, by which England had withdrawn her former toleration from these plunderers of the Spanish dominions; or whether he was afraid to bring them to trial from the notorious courage of their companions in the West Indies, we have not sufficient authority to affirm; but one thing is certain, that King Charles II. for several years after the restoration, winked at their depredations, and many of them performed such valiant actions as, in a good cause, had justly merited honours and rewards. Even as the case was, Charles, out of mere whim, knighted Henry Morgan, a Welshman, who had plundered Porto Bello and Panama, and carried off large treasures from them. For several years so formidable was this body of plunderers in the West Indies, that they struck a terror into every quarter of the Spanish dominions. Their gold and silver, which they lavishly spent in the colony, ensured to them a kind reception among the Carolineans, who opened their ports to them freely, and furnished them with necessaries. They could purchase the favour of the governor, and the friendship of the people, for what they deemed a trifling consideration. Leaving their gold and silver behind them, for clothes, arms, ammunition, and provisions, they embarked in quest of more. However, the proprietors, having intelligence of the encouragement given to pirates by Governor Quarry, dismissed him from the office he held;

and, in 1685, Landgrave Joseph Morton was reinstated in the government of the colony.

During the reign of King James II. the hardships under which the people of Britain laboured, and the troubles they apprehended, brought much strength to the colonies. The unsuccessful or unfortunate part of mankind are easily induced to emigrate; but the oppressed and persecuted are driven from their country, however closely their affections may cleave to it. Such imprudent attempts were made by this prince against what the nation highly revered, that many Protestants deserted it, preferring the hardships of the first state of colonization abroad, to oppression at home. So far was he from concealing his attachment to the Popish religion, that he gloried in the open profession of it, and took every opportunity of transferring both the legal authority and military command into the hands of such men as were best affected to that religion, and would most readily contribute their assistance towards the accomplishment of this favourite design. The Protestants in general were alarmed, and filled with the most gloomy apprehensions from the bloody and persecuting spirit of the Popish faction. They foresaw the subversion of their religion and liberties, and fled over the Atlantic from the approaching rigours of persecution, being determined to submit to any hardships abroad, rather than to the establishment of Popery in England.

The next acquisition America gained, was from the revocation of the edict of Nantz; in consequence of which the flames of persecution broke out in France, and drove many of its best subjects out of that kingdom. These Protestant refugees were beneficial in many respects to England and Holland, and served greatly to promote the trade and manufactures of these nations. Among the other colonies in America which reaped advantage from this impolitic measure of France, Carolina had a larger share. Many of the Protestant refugees, having purchased lands from the proprietors, embarked with their families for that colony, and proved some of its best and most industrious inhabitants.

Small was the progress in cultivation which the colonists of Carolina had yet made, and fatal had the heat of the climate and the labours of the field proved to many of them. Yet their cattle increased in an amazing manner, and thrived exceedingly well in their forests. Having little winter, the woods furnished them with both shelter and provisions all the year; neither houses nor attendants were provided for them, but each planter's cattle, distinguished only by his mark, every where grazed with freedom. Hogs still fared better, and increased faster. The woods abounded with acorns, and roots of different kinds, on which they fed and fattened, and were reckoned most excellent food. Stocks of cattle, at this period, were a great object with the planters, for several reasons. Little labour was requisite to raise and render them profitable. The planters were at no trouble in building houses for them, nor at any expense in feeding them. If either cattle or hogs were fed, it must only have been intended to accustom them to keep nigh their owner's abode, or to return under his eye every evening. Besides, a planter fond of hunting might supply his family with game through the year, with which the woods abounded, and save his stock. Horses were also bred in the same manner, and though they degenerated greatly, they multiplied fast. No part of the world could prove more favourable to poultry of all kinds. By the trade of the colony to the West Indies, they had rum and sugar in return for their lumber and provisions; and England supplied them with clothes, arms, ammunition, and utensils for building and cultivation, in exchange for their deer-skins, furs, and naval stores.

Turpentine is the gum in a liquid state of that species of the pine tree called the Pitch-pine, extracted by incision and the heat of the sun, while the tree is growing. The common manner of obtaining it is as follows: about the first of January the persons employed in making turpentine begin to cut boxes in the trees, a little above the ground, and make them large or small, in proportion to the size of

the tree; the box of a large tree will hold two English quarts, of a middling tree one, and of a small one a pint. About the middle of March, when the weather becomes warm, they begin to bleed, which is done by cutting about an inch into the sap of the tree with a joiner's hatchet; these channels made in the green standing tree, are framed so as to meet in a point where the boxes are made to receive the gum; then the bark is peeled off that side of the tree which is exposed to the sun, that the heat may extract the turpentine. After bleeding, if rain should happen to fall, it not only condenses the sap, but also contracts the orifices of the vessels that discharge the gum, and therefore the trees must be bled afresh. About fourteen days after bleeding, the boxes will be full of turpentine, and must be emptied into a barrel. When the boxes are full, an able hand will fill two barrels in a day. A thousand trees will yield at every gathering about two barrels and a half of turpentine, and it may be gathered once every fourteen days, till the frost comes, which chills the sap, and obliges the labourer to apply to some other employment, until the next season for boxing shall approach. The oil of turpentine is obtained by distillation; and rosin is the remainder of the turpentine, after the oil is distilled from it.

From the same pine-trees tar and pitch are also made, but by a different mode of operation. "For extracting tar they prepare a circular floor of clay, declining a little towards the centre, from which there is laid a pipe of wood, extending almost horizontally two feet without the circumference, and so let into the ground, that its upper side may be level with the floor: at the outer end of this pipe they dig a hole large enough to hold the barrels of tar, which, when forced out of the wood, naturally runs to the centre of the floor as the lowest part, and from thence along the pipe into the barrels. Matters being thus prepared, they raise upon the clay floor a large pile of dry pine-wood split in pieces, and enclose the whole pile with a wall of earth, leaving only a little hole in the top, where the fire is to be kindled; when that is done,

and the enclosed wood begins to burn, the whole is stopped up with earth, that there may be no flame, but only heat sufficient to force the tar out of the wood, and make it run down to the floor. They temper the heat as they think proper, by thrusting a stick through the wall of earth, and letting the air in at as many places as they judge necessary. As to pitch, it is nothing more than the solid part of the tar separated from the liquid by boiling."

As Carolina abounds with this kind of pine-trees, vast quantities of pitch, tar, and turpentine might have been made in it. At this early period, the settlers, having little strength to fell the thick forest and clear the lands for cultivating grain, naturally applied themselves to such articles as were in demand in England, and for procuring which moderate labour was requisite. Lumber was a bulky article, and required a number of ships to export it. Naval stores were more valuable and less bulky, at the same time that the labour necessary to obtain them was easier, and more adapted to European constitutions. The province as yet could supply Britain with a very inconsiderable quantity of naval stores; but by encouraging the planters in preparing them, the expense of its vast importations from the Baltic might have been in some measure saved to the nation.

Though Governor Morton was possessed of a considerable share of wisdom, and was connected with several respectable families in the colony, yet so inconsistent were his instructions from England with the prevailing views and interests of the people, that he was unable, without great trouble, to execute the duties of his trust. He was a man of a sober and religious temper of mind, and had married Mr. Blake's sister, lately arrived from England, by which alliance it was hoped the hands of government would be strengthened, and a check given to the more licentious and irregular party of the people. His council was composed of John Boone, Maurice Mathews, John Godfrey, Andrew Percival, Arthur Middleton, and James Moore, &c.; some of whom differed widely from him in opinion with respect to

public measures, and claimed greater indulgences for the people than he had authority to grant. Hence two parties arose in the colony: one in support of the prerogative and authority of the proprietors, the other in defence of the liberties of the people. The former contended, that the laws and regulations received from England respecting government ought to be strictly and implicitly observed; the latter kept in view their local circumstances, and maintained, that the freemen of the colony were under obligations to observe them only so far as they were consistent with the interest of individuals and the prosperity of the settlement. In this situation of affairs, no governor could long support his power among a number of bold adventurers, who improved every hour for advancing their interest, and could bear no restraints which had the least tendency to defeat their favourite views and designs: for whenever he attempted to interpose his feeble authority, they insulted his person and complained of his administration, till he was removed from his office.

The proprietors also finding it prudent to change their governor so soon as he became obnoxious to the people, James Colleton at this time was appointed to supersede Joseph Morton. He was a brother to Sir Peter Colleton, one of the proprietors, but was possessed neither of his address nor abilities for the management of public affairs. He left Barbadoes and retired to Carolina, where he built an excellent house on Cooper River,* in hopes of settling in that country, and long enjoying, by the influence of his brother, the emoluments of his office in tranquillity and happiness. To give him the greater weight, he was created a landgrave of the colony, to which dignity forty-eight thousand acres of land were unalienably annexed: but to his mortification he soon found, that the proprietary government had acquired but little firmness and stability, and, by his

* Oldmixon, says Colleton, seated himself at "Old Charlestown," built a handsome house there; and being made governor, his seat is to this day called the governor's house British Empire in North America.

imprudence and rigour, fell into still greater disrespect and contempt.

About the year 1687, having called an assembly of the representatives, he proposed to make some new regulations respecting the government of the colony. Having examined the fundamental constitutions, and finding the people disposed to make many objections to them, he thought proper to nominate a committee, to consider wherein they were improper or defective, and to make such alterations and amendments in them as they judged might be conducive to the welfare of the country. This committee consisted of the Governor, Paul Grimball the secretary, William Dunlop, Bernard Schinking, Thomas Smith, John Far, and Joseph Blake. Accordingly, by these men a new code of laws was framed, consisting of many articles different from the former, which they called *Standing Laws*, and transmitted to England for the approbation of the proprietors. These standing laws, however, the proprietors rejected, and insisted on the observance of the fundamental constitutions; and all the while the people treated both with equal indifference and neglect.

At this early period a dissatisfaction with the proprietary government appeared, and began to gain ground among the people. A dispute having arisen between the governor and the house of assembly about the tenures of lands and the payment of quit-rents, Landgrave Colleton determined to exert his authority, in compelling the people to pay up their arrears of quit-rents, which, though very trifling and inconsiderable, were burdensome, as not one acre out of a thousand of these lands for which quit-rents were demanded yielded them any profit. For this purpose, he wrote to the proprietors, requesting them to appoint such deputies as he knew to be most favourably disposed towards their government, and would most readily assist him in the execution of his office. Hence the interest of the proprietors and that of the people were placed in opposite scales, and the more rigorously the governor exerted his authority, the more turbulent

and seditious the people became. At last they proceeded to avowed usurpation: they issued writs in their own name, and held assemblies in opposition to the governor and the authority of the proprietors. Letters from England, containing deputations to persons obnoxious to the people, they seized and suppressed, and appointed other men better affected to the popular cause. Paul Grimball, the secretary of the province, they imprisoned, and forcibly took possession of the public records. The militia act they refused to settle, because recommended by the governor, even though their own security depended on it. In short, the little community was turned into a scene of confusion, and every man acted as he thought proper, without any regard to legal authority, and in contempt of the governor and other officers of the proprietors.

Landgrave Colleton, mortified at the loss of power, and alarmed at the bold and seditious spirit of the people, was not a little perplexed what step to take in order to recal them to the obedience of legal authority. Gentle means he perceived would be vain and ineffectual. One expedient was suggested, which he and his council flattered themselves might be productive of the desired effect, and induce the people through fear to return to his standard, and stand by the person who alone had authority to punish mutiny and sedition,—which was, to proclaim the martial law, and try to maintain by force of arms the proprietary jurisdiction. Accordingly, without letting the people into his secret design, he caused the militia to be drawn up, as if some danger had threatened the country, and publicly proclaimed the martial law at their head. His design, however, did not long remain a secret, and, when discovered, served only to exasperate the more. The members of the assembly met, and taking this measure under their deliberation, resolved, that it was an encroachment upon their liberties, and an unwarrantable exertion of power, at a time when the colony was in no danger from any foreign enemy. The governor, however, insisted on the articles of war, and tried

to carry the martial law into execution; but the disaffection was too general to admit of such a remedy. In the year 1690, at a meeting of the representatives, a bill was brought in and passed, for disabling Landgrave James Colleton from holding any office, or exercising any authority, civil or military, within the province: nay, so outrageous were they against him, that nothing less than banishment could appease them, and therefore gave notice to him, that, in a limited time, he must depart from the country.

During these public commotions Seth Sothell, pretending to be a proprietor by virtue of some regulations lately made in England, usurped the government of the colony. At first the people seemed disposed to acknowledge his authority, while the current of their enmity ran against Landgrave Colleton; and as he had stood forth as an active and leading man in opposition to that governor, and ratified the law for his exclusion and banishment: but afterward, finding him to be void of every principle of honour and honesty, they persecuted him also with deserved and implacable enmity. Such was the insatiable avarice of this usurper, that his popularity was of short duration. Every restraint of common justice and equity was trampled upon by him; and oppression, such as usually attends the exaltation of vulgar and ambitious scramblers for power, extended her rod of iron over the distracted colony. The fair traders from Barbadoes and Bermuda were seized as pirates by order of this popular governor, and confined until such fees as he was pleased to exact were paid him: bribes from felons and traitors were accepted to favour their escape from the hands of justice: plantations were forcibly taken possession of, upon pretences the most frivolous and unjust, and planters were compelled to give bonds for large sums of money, to procure from him liberty to remain in possession of their property. These, and many more acts of the like atrocious nature, did this rapacious governor commit, during the short time of his administration, to increase his fees as governor and proprietor. At length the people,

weary of his grievous impositions and extortions, agreed to take him by force, and ship him off for England. Then, to his other ill qualities he added meanness of spirit, and humbly begged of them liberty to remain in the country, promising to submit his conduct to the trial of the assembly at their first meeting. When the assembly met, thirteen different charges were brought against him, and all supported by the strongest evidence: upon which, being found guilty, they compelled him to abjure the government and country for ever. An account of his infamous and wicked conduct was drawn up and sent to the proprietors, which filled them with astonishment and indignation. He was ordered to England, to answer the accusations brought against him before the palatine's court, and, in case of refusal, was given to understand it would be taken as a further evidence and confirmation of his guilt.* The law for disabling Landgrave

* The events which Hewit here narrates, as having occurred in South Carolina, transpired during Sothell's administration in North Carolina. The history of this individual, whose life forms so conspicuous a part in the early history of the Carolinas, is briefly this. As soon as the disorders which attended Culpepper's insurrection in North Carolina had abated, the proprietors determined to send out Sothell as governor, to reconcile the people to their authority. By way of qualifying himself under the constitution, which required the governor to be a landgrave, he purchased out a part of Lord Clarendon's share of the province; thus hoping by the interest which he had in it, to be able to assume a greater degree of authority. On his passage from Carolina to England he was overtaken by Algerine pirates, and held in imprisonment for upwards of two years. Succeeding in his escape, he repaired to North Carolina in 1683, and assumed its government. "Here," says Grahame, "his dangerous character was displayed in the first acts of his administration. Though required by the proprietors to expel from the council all those who had been concerned in the late disorders; to establish a court of the most impartial of the inhabitants, for the redress of wrongs committed during the distractions of the times; and to assist the officers of the customs in collecting the royal revenue, and executing the acts of navigation,—he declined to comply with any of these mandates; and seeking only his own immediate enrichment, he disregarded equally the happiness of the people, the interest of his colleges, and the deep stake which he himself possessed in the future welfare of the colony. Rapacity, cruelty, and treachery appear to have been the prominent traits

James Colleton from holding any authority civil or military in Carolina, was repealed, and strict orders were sent out to

of his administration, which after afflicting the colony for a period of five years, at length exhausted the patience of all parties, and produced at least one good effect, in uniting the divided people by a sense of common suffering and danger. Driven almost to despair, the inhabitants universally took arms against his government, in 1688: and having deposed and imprisoned him, were preparing to send him to England for trial; when, descending to the most abject supplications, he entreated to be judged rather by the provincial assembly, by whose sentence he declared himself to abide. If the colonists in granting this request arrogated a power that did not constitutionally belong to them, they at least exercised it with a moderation which reflects honour on themselves, and aggravates the guilt of the tyrannical governor. The assembly declared him guilty of all the crimes laid to his charge; and ordained that he abjure the country for twelve months, and the government for ever." Sothell was accordingly recalled by the proprietors, and we hear nothing of him, until the banishment of Landgrave Colleton from the Southern province of Carolina. "During the ferments," says the same author we have just quoted, "which ensued upon this proceeding, Seth Sothell suddenly presented himself in Charlestown, and in the double capacity of a proprietary of the province, and a champion of the popular rights against proprietary pretensions, laid claim to the possession of supreme authority. Hailed at once with acclamations of numerous factions, he succeeded without difficulty in prevailing over the opposition of the governor, and more respectable inhabitants, and in possessing himself of the reins of government which had long awaited and invited the grasp of some vigorous hand. With the gracious semblance of respect to petition which had been suggested by himself, he consented to convene a parliament; and during the distraction of the times, it was easy to procure the return of members who were ready to sanction by their votes whatever measures he might dictate to them. Colleton was by this assembly impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, and not only disabled from holding any office in the government, but banished from the province. Others, who were accused of having abetted his misgovernment, were subjected to fine, imprisonment, and exile. Having now obtained possession of the supreme authority, and, under pretence of gratifying the resentments of the people, enriched himself by forfeitures, and disencumbered himself of rival candidates for office, Sothell proceeded to exercise his power with a tyranny that effectually rebuked and punished the folly of those who had permitted him to obtain it; and soon united the Southern colony against him in the same unanimous hatred which he had excited among their brethren in North Carolina. He is said to have trampled under foot every restraint of justice and equity; and ruled the colonists with a rod of iron. The replenishment

the grand council, to support the power and prerogative of the proprietors. To compose the minds of the people, they declared their detestation of such unwarrantable and wanton oppression, and protested that no governor should ever be permitted to grow rich on their ruins; enjoining them, at the same time, to return to the obedience of their magistrates, and subjection to legal authority.

Hitherto this little community has been a scene of continual contention and misery. The fundamental constitutions, which the proprietors thought the most excellent form of government upon earth, have been little regarded. The governors have been either ill qualified for their office, or the instructions given them have been unacceptable to the people. The inhabitants, far from living in friendship and harmony among themselves, have also been seditious and ungovernable. Indeed, while the proprietary government shall continue to be thus weak and unstable, its authority will be little respected; while the encouragement given to

of his coffers was the sole object of his government; and his financial operations were varied only by varieties of rapine. The fair traders from Barbadoes and Bermuda were seized by his orders, under the pretended charge of piracy; and compelled to purchase their ransoms from imprisonment by enormous fines. Bribes were accepted from real felons to favour their escape from justice, and the property of individuals was seized and confiscated on the most unjust and frivolous pretences. The proprietaries hearing with astonishment of these outrageous proceedings, transmitted letters of recall to Sothell, and threatened in case of his disobedience to procure a *mandamus* from the king to compel his appearance in England; and their orders being now seconded by the hearty concurrence of the people, the usurper was constrained to vacate his functions, and abandon the province." He retired however no further than to North Carolina, where he died in the year 1694. He left an ample estate which sustained no small diminution after his death, from numerous decrees in favour of parties whom he had pillaged or defrauded: but the other proprietaries, in suing for a large amount of rents which he had recovered and embezzled, were nonsuited, on the absurd existing maxim of the English law, that tenants in common could not bring actions of account against each other. It was not till the reign of Queen Anne, that this iniquitous regulation was repealed. Williamson's Hist. of N. Ca. Vol. 1. 142, 143. Grahame's Hist. of the United States of North America, Vol. 2. 128–155.

civil officers and magistrates is trifling and inconsiderable; men of judgment and ability will not throw away their time and pains for supporting the honour and authority of others, which might be otherwise employed to purposes more advantageous to themselves. The titles of Landgrave and Cassique will not compensate for the loss of such time and labour, especially when they come only joined with large tracts of land which, for want of hands, must lie uncultivated. The money arising from quit-rents and the sale of lands was inconsiderable, hard to be collected, and by no means adequate to the support of government. The proprietors were unwilling to involve their English estates for the improvement of American property; hence their government was feeble and ill supported in Carolina, and there is reason to fear it will become more so, in proportion as the colonists shall become richer and more independent, and the country shall advance to a more populous and better cultivated state.

CHAPTER III.

During the reign of the infatuated King James II. the English nation, oppressed by a Popish faction, and apprehensive about their civil and religious liberties, were ripe for a revolt; and, upon his abdication, William Prince of Orange accepted of the English crown, on such terms as the parliament thought proper to offer it. Though history can furnish few examples of a daughter conspiring with subjects to exclude her father from the throne, and then accepting of a crown from his head; yet, by this Revolution the long-contested boundaries between the prerogative of the king and the rights and liberties of the people, were more clearly marked and determined than they had been in any former period, to the great relief and happiness of the nation. This event is distinguished in the annals of England as the era of freedom; and it must be confessed, that the change has been productive of many important and happy consequences.

As nothing tends more to the increase of industry and commerce than religious toleration, and great freedom to scrupulous consciences, soon after the Revolution an act passed in parliament, for exempting his majesty's Protestant subjects from the penalties of certain laws, under which they had formerly suffered great severities. King William and his council, at that juncture, wisely judged, that such a law might be of excellent use in removing the complaints of many of his good subjects, and uniting their minds in interest and affection. Though the variances of Whigs and Tories may have sometimes obstructed the salutary effects of this

law, yet it must be acknowledged to have answered many wise and valuable purposes to the nation.

In the history of England, nothing is found to redound more to the honour of the people than their signal and uncommon acts of generosity and humanity. Even in the reign of King James large collections had been made for the distressed French refugees. After King William's accession to the throne, the parliament voted fifteen thousand pounds sterling to be distributed among persons of quality, and all such as through age or infirmities were unable to support themselves or families. To artificers and manufacturers encouragement was offered in England and Ireland, who have contributed not a little to the improvement of the silk and linen manufactures of these kingdoms. To husbandmen and merchants agreeable prospects were opened in the British colonies. In 1690, King William sent a large body of these people to Virginia. Lands were allotted them on the banks of St. James' river, which by their diligence and industry they soon improved into excellent estates. Others purchased lands from the proprietors of Carolina, transported themselves and families to that quarter, and settled a colony on Santee river. Others, who were merchants and mechanics, took up their residence in Charlestown, and followed their different occupations. At this period these new settlers were a great acquisition to Carolina. They had taken the oath of allegiance to the king, and promised fidelity to the proprietors. They were disposed to look on the colonists, whom they had joined, in the favourable light of brethren and fellow-adventurers, and though they understood not the English language, yet they were desirous of living in peace and harmony with their neighbours, and willing to stand forth on all occasions of danger with them for the common safety and defence.

About the same time, Philip Ludwell, a gentleman from Virginia, being appointed governor of Carolina, arrived in the province. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had been general of the Leeward Islands in the reign of King James,

being created a Cassique of Carolina, after the Revolution retired to that country, and took his seat as a member of the council. The proprietors having found the fundamental constitutions disagreeable to the people, and ineffectual for the purposes of government, repealed all their former laws and regulations, excepting those called Agrarian Laws, and sent out a new plan of government to Mr. Ludwell, consisting of forty-three articles of instruction, for the better management of their colony. The inhabitants, who had been long in a confused and turbulent state, were enjoined to obedience and submission. Liberty was granted to the representatives of the people to frame such laws as they judged necessary to the public welfare and tranquillity, which were to continue in force for two years, but no longer, unless they were in the mean time ratified and confirmed by the palatine and three more proprietors. Lands for the cassiques and landgraves were ordered to be marked out in square plats, and freedom was granted them to choose their situation. Hitherto the planters remained utter strangers to the value and fertility of the low lands, the swamps were therefore carefully avoided, and large tracts of the higher lands, which were esteemed more precious, were surveyed, and marked out for estates by the provincial nobility.

Governor Ludwell, who was a man of great humanity, and considerable knowledge and experience in provincial affairs, by those large estates which were allowed the leading men, and the many indulgences he was authorized to grant to others, had the good fortune to allay the ferment among the people, and reconcile them to the proprietors. But this domestic tranquillity was of short duration. New sources of discontent broke out from a different quarter. He had instructions to allow the French colony settled in Craven county, the same privileges and liberties with the English colonists. Several of the refugees being possessed of considerable property in France, had sold it, and brought the money with them to England. Having purchased large tracts of land with this money, they sat down in more advan-

tageous circumstances than the poorer part of English emigrants. Some of them, who had gone to the northern provinces, hearing of the kind treatment and great encouragement their brethren had received in Carolina, came to southward and joined their countrymen. Having clergymen of their own persuasion, for whom they entertained the highest respect and veneration, they were disposed to encourage them as much as their narrow circumstances would admit. Governor Ludwell received the wandering foreigners with great civility, and was not a little solicitous to provide them with settlements equal to their expectations. While these refugees were entering on the hard task of clearing and cultivating spots of land, encouraging and relieving each other as much as was in their power, the English settlers began to revive the odious distinctions and rooted antipathies of the two nations, and to consider them as aliens and foreigners, entitled by law to none of the privileges and advantages of natural-born subjects. The governor had instructions to allow them six representatives in assembly; this the Englishmen considered as contrary to the laws of the land, and beyond the power of the proprietors, who were subject to the laws, to grant. Instead of considering these persecuted strangers in the enlarged light of brethren descended from the same common parent, and entitled to the free blessings of Providence; instead of taking compassion on men who had sought an asylum from oppression in their country, whom they were bound to welcome to it by every tie of humanity and interest; they began to execute the laws of England respecting aliens in their utmost rigour against them. Their haughty spirit could not brook the thoughts of sitting in assembly with the rivals of the English nation for power and dominion, and of receiving laws from Frenchmen, the favourers of a system of slavery and absolute government. In this unfavourable light they were held forth to the people, to the great prejudice of the refugees; which sentiments, however narrow and improper, served to excite no small jealousies and appre-

hensions in their minds, with respect to these unhappy foreigners.

Hard as this treatment was, this violent party did not stop here. They insisted, that the laws of England allowed no foreigners to purchase lands in any part of the empire under her supreme jurisdiction, and that no authority but the house of commons in Britain could incorporate aliens into their community, and make them partakers of the rights and privileges of natural-born Englishmen; that they ought to have been naturalized by parliament before they obtained grants of lands from the proprietors; that the marriages performed by their clergymen, not being ordained by a bishop, were unlawful; and that the children begotten in those marriages could be considered in law in no other light than bastards. In short, they averred, that aliens were not only denied a seat in parliament, but also a voice in all elections of members to serve in it; and that they could neither be returned on any jury, nor sworn for the trial of issues between subject and subject.

The refugees, alarmed at these proceedings, and discouraged at the prospect of being deprived of all the rights and liberties of British subjects, began to suspect that the oppression of England would fall heavier upon them than that of France from which they had fled. Dejected at the thoughts of labouring they knew not for whom, if their children could not reap the fruits of their labours, or if their estates should escheat to the proprietors at their decease, they could consider themselves only as deceived and imposed upon by false promises and prospects. After holding several consultations among themselves about their deplorable circumstances, they agreed to state their case before the proprietors, and beg their advice. In answer to which the proprietors instructed Governor Ludwell to inform them, that they would inquire what does in law qualify an alien born for the enjoyment of the rights and privileges of English subjects, and in due time let them know; that, for their part, they would take no advantages of the present grievous

circumstances of the refugees; that their lands should descend to such persons as they thought proper to bequeath them; that the children of such as had been married in the same way were not deemed bastards in England, nor could they be considered as such in Carolina, where such unlimited toleration was allowed to all men by their charter. Though this served in some measure to compose the minds of the refugees, yet while the people harboured prejudices against them, the relief was only partial; and, at the next election of members to serve in assembly, Craven county, in which they lived, was not allowed a single representative.

From the first settlement of the colony, the common method of obtaining lands in it was by purchase, either from the proprietors themselves, or from officers commissioned by them, who disposed of them agreeable to their directions. Twenty pounds sterling for a thousand acres of land, and more or less, in proportion to the quantity, was commonly demanded, although the proprietors might accept of any acknowledgment they thought proper. The emigrants having obtained warrants, had liberty to go in search of vacant ground, and to pitch upon such spots as they judged most valuable and convenient. This was surveyed, and marked out to them, according to the extent of their purchase, and plats and grants were signed, registered and delivered to them, reserving one shilling quit-rent for every hundred acres, to be paid annually to the proprietors. Such persons as could not advance the sum demanded by way of purchase, obtained lands on condition of paying one penny annual rent for every acre to the landlords. The former, however, was the common method of obtaining landed estates in Carolina, and the tenure was a freehold. The refugees having purchased their estates, and meeting with such harsh treatment from the colonists, were greatly discouraged, and apprehensive, notwithstanding the fair promises of the proprietors, they had escaped one abyss of misery only to plunge themselves deeper into another.

The manner of impanelling juries in Carolina being

remarkably fair and equitable, justly claims our particular notice. Juries here are not returned by sheriffs, whose ingenuity and integrity are well known, particularly in England; but according to an article in the fundamental constitutions.* The names of all the freemen in the colony being taken down on small pieces of parchment of equal size, they are put into a ballot-box, which is shaken on purpose to mix them, and out of which twenty-four names are drawn, at every precinct court before it rises, by the first boy under ten years of age that appears; which names are put into another box, and twelve out of the twenty-four are drawn by another boy under the same age, and summoned to appear at the next meeting of court; which persons are the jury, provided no exceptions are taken against any of them. If any of them are challenged by the prisoner, the boy continues drawing other names till the jury be full. In this mild and fair manner prisoners are tried, which allows them every chance for life humanity can suggest or require: for after the most careful examination of witnesses, and the fullest debate on both sides from the bar, the jury have instructions about the evidences given, and the point of law which is to guide them in their decision, from the bench; and are shut up in a room, where they must remain until they agree, and return their unanimous verdict, guilty or not guilty.

Notwithstanding the excellence of this form of trial, it must be confessed that justice has not always had its free course, nor been administered with impartiality by the officers and judges appointed by the proprietors for this pur-

* The process of drawing juries in South Carolina, was perhaps, one of the most equitable and wise improvements upon the English administration of law, ever introduced into the province. The picture of an innocent child, selecting distributors of law for the injured, or oppressed, realizes to us all that the ancients conceived of the impartiality of their blind goddess. Hewit is wrong in saying, that the plan is according to the "fundamental constitution." It may have been the offspring of so immortal a mind as Locke's, but the proof is nowhere to be found in the instrument itself. See Fundamental Constitution, Vol. 2. Hist. Col. So. Car.

pose. Pirates, for instance, are a body of men whom all civilized nations are bound in honour and justice to crush; yet, instead of this, by bribery and corruption, they often found favour with the provincial juries, and by this means escaped the hands of justice. About this time forty men arrived in a privateer, called the Royal Jamaica, who had been engaged in a course of piracy, and brought into the country treasures of Spanish gold and silver. These men were allowed to enter into recognizance for their peaceable and good behaviour for one year, with securities, till the governor should hear whether the proprietors would grant them a general indemnity. At another time a vessel was shipwrecked on the coast, the crew of which openly and boldly confessed, they had been on the Red Sea plundering the dominions of the Great Mogul. The gentleness of government towards those public robbers, and the civility and friendship with which they were treated by the people, were evidences of the licentious spirit which prevailed in the colony. For although all men ought to be tender of the lives of their fellow-creatures, and permit ten guilty persons to escape rather than one innocent man should suffer; yet, to bring pirates to justice is a duty which both national honour and the common welfare of society necessarily require. For if we allow such public robbers to escape with impunity, it may be attended with serious and fatal consequences; it may prove the occasion of war and bloodshed to nations in general, to the prejudice of navigation, and the destruction of many innocent lives, which might have been prevented by proper and legal punishments. The proprietors were disposed to consider piracy in this dangerous light, and therefore instructed Governor Ludwell to change the form of electing juries, and required that all pirates should be tried and punished by the laws of England made for the suppression of piracy. Before such instructions reached Carolina, the pirates, by their money and freedom of intercourse with the people, had so ingratiated themselves into the public favour, that it was become no easy matter to

bring them to trial, and dangerous to punish them as they deserved. The courts of law became scenes of altercation, discord, and confusion. Bold and seditious speeches were made from the bar, in contempt of the proprietors and their government. Since no pardons could be obtained but such as they had authorized the governor to grant, the assembly took the matter under deliberation, and fell into hot debates among themselves about a bill of indemnity, When they found the governor disposed to refuse his assent to such a bill, they made a law impowering magistrates and judges to put in force the *habeas corpus* act made in England. Hence it happened, that several of those pirates escaped, purchased lands from the colonists, and took up their residence in the country. While money flowed into the colony in this channel, the authority of government was a barrier too feeble to stem the tide, and prevent such illegal practices. At length the proprietors, to gratify the people, granted an indemnity to all the pirates, excepting those who had been plundering the Great Mogul, most of whom also found means of making their escape out of the country.

In this community there subsisted a constant struggle between the people and the officers of the proprietors: the former claimed great exemptions and indulgences, on account of their indigent and dangerous circumstances; the latter were anxious to discharge the duties of their trust, and to comply with the instructions of their superiors. When quit-rents were demanded, some refused payment, others had nothing to offer. When actions were brought against all those who were in arrears, the poor planters murmured and complained among themselves, and were discontented at the terms of holding their lands, though, comparatively speaking, easy and advantageous. It was impossible for any governor to please both parties. The fees also of their courts and sheriffs were such, that, in all actions of small value, they exceeded the debt to be recovered by them. To remedy this inconvenience, the assembly made a law for empowering justices of the peace to hear, and finally to

determine, all causes of forty shillings sterling value and under. This was equally agreeable to the people, as it was otherwise to the officers of justice. At length, to humour the planters, the governor proposed to the assembly, to consider of a new form of a deed for holding lands, by which he encroached on the prerogative of the proprietors, who had reserved to themselves the sole power of judging in such a case, incurred their displeasure, and was soon after removed from the government.

To find another man equally well qualified for the trust, was a matter at this time of no small difficulty to the proprietors. Thomas Smith* was a man possessed of considerable property, much esteemed by the people for his wisdom and sobriety; such a person they deemed would be the most proper to succeed Ludwell, as he would naturally be both zealous and active in promoting the prosperity and peace of the settlement. Accordingly a patent was sent out to him creating him a landgrave, and, together with it, a commission investing him with the government of the colony. Mr. Ludwell returned to Virginia, happily relieved from a troublesome office, and Landgrave Smith, under all possible advantages, entered on it. He was previously acquainted with the state of the colony, and with the tempers and complexions of the leading men in it. He knew that the interests of the proprietors, and the prosperity of the settlement were inseparably connected. He was disposed to allow the people, struggling under many hardships, every indulgence consistent with the duties of his trust. No stranger could have been appointed to the government that could boast of being in circumstances equally favourable and advantageous.

About this time a fortunate accident happened, which occasioned the introduction of rice into Carolina, a commodity which was afterwards found very suitable to the climate

* For an account of Smith's administration, as also of that of Governor Archedale, who followed him, see Archedale's Carolina, Vol. 2. p. 101. Hist. Col. So. Car.

and soil of the country. A brigantine from the island of Madagascar touching at that place in her way to Britain, came to anchor off Sullivan's island. There Landgrave Smith, upon an invitation from the captain, paid him a visit, and received from him a present of a bag of seed rice, which he said he had seen growing in eastern countries, where it was deemed excellent food, and produced an incredible increase. The governor divided his bag of rice between Stephen Bull, Joseph Woodward, and some other friends, who agreed to make the experiment, and planted their small parcels in different soils. Upon trial they found it answered their highest expectations. Some years afterwards, Mr. Du Bois, treasurer to the East India Company, sent a bag of seed rice to Carolina, which, it is supposed, gave rise to the distinction of red and white rice, which are both cultivated in that country. Several years, however, elapsed, before the planters found out the art of beating and cleaning it to perfection, and that the lowest and richest lands were best adapted to the nature of the grain; yet, from this period, the colonists persevered in planting it, and every year brought them greater encouragement. From this small beginning did the staple commodity of Carolina take its rise, which soon became the chief support of the colony, and its great source of opulence. Besides provision for man and beast, as rice employs a number of hands in trade, it became also a source of naval strength to the nation, and of course more beneficial to it than foreign mines of silver and gold. From the success attending this inconsiderable beginning, projectors of new schemes for improvement may draw some useful lessons, especially where lands are good, and the climate favourable to vegetation.

With the introduction of rice planting into this country, and the fixing upon it as its staple commodity, the necessity of employing Africans for the purpose of cultivation was doubled. So laborious is the task of raising, beating, and cleaning this article, that though it had been possible to obtain European servants in numbers sufficient for attacking

the thick forest and clearing grounds for the purpose, thousands and ten thousands must have perished in the arduous attempt. The utter inaptitude of Europeans for the labour requisite in such a climate and soil, is obvious to every one possessed of the smallest degree of knowledge respecting the country; white servants would have exhausted their strength in clearing a spot of land for digging their own graves, and every rice plantation would have served no other purpose than a burying ground to its European cultivators. The low lands of Carolina, which are unquestionably the richest grounds in the country, must long have remained a wilderness, had not Africans, whose natural constitutions were suited to the clime and work, been employed in cultivating this useful article of food and commerce.

So much may be said for the necessity of employing Africans in the cultivation of rice; but great is the difference between employing negroes in clearing and improving those rich plains, and that miserable state of hardship and slavery to which they are there devoted, and which has been tolerated and established by the law of the land. If we view this race, first ranging over the hills of Africa, equally free and independent as other rude nations on earth, and from thence inveigled by fraud, or compelled by force, and then consigned over to a state of endless slavery, we must confess the change is great and deplorable, especially to an impartial and disinterested eye. Without them, it is acknowledged, slow must have been the progress of cultivation in Carolina; but, from such a consideration, what man will presume to vindicate the policy of keeping those rational creatures in perpetual exile and slavery. Nature had given them an equal right to liberty as to life, and the general law of self-preservation was equally concerned for the preservation of both. We would be glad then to know, upon what principle of equity and justice the English traders founded their right to deprive the freeborn inhabitants of Africa of their natural liberty and native country; or on what grounds

the planter afterward founded his right to their service during life, and that of all their posterity, to the latest generation. Can the particular laws of any country supersede the general laws of nature? Can the local circumstances of any province upon earth be pled in excuse for such a violent trade, and for such endless slavery in consequence of it? Besides, has not this trade a tendency to encourage war and plunder among the natives of Africa? to set one tribe against another, to catch and trepan their neighbours, on purpose to barter them for European trinkets to the factories? Nor is the traffic confined to the captives of war alone, who have been subjected to slavery by many nations; for so ardently do they covet the pernicious liquors and trifling commodities carried to them from Europe, that, without scruple, they will part with their nearest relations, their wives and children not excepted, to procure them. Thus civilized nations, by such a traffic, have made barbarians more barbarous, and tempted them to commit the most cruel and unnatural actions.

Nothing can be more evident, than that such a trade is tolerated and carried on in violation of the grand rule of equity prescribed to Christians. For example, let us suppose the people of Africa had discovered an island, such as Newfoundland, in a climate too cool for the natives of that continent to cultivate, and that the inhabitants of the north of Europe were alone adapted to the work. In consequence of this discovery, were they to sail to Britain with a cargo of their gold dust, and stir up one county to wage war with another for the sake of captives: were they to tempt the father to dispose of his son, the mother of her daughter, the husband of his wife, and the nearest friends, first to steal and kidnap, and then barter each other, for Africa's golden idol: we may with justice put the question, Ye inhabitants of England, what would ye think of such a traffic? We will readily own, there are few nations upon earth more fond of gold dust than you, or have gone farther lengths in the commercial way to procure it; yet, fond as ye are of this

favourite metal, we must do so much justice to your humanity as to believe, that your nation would resound with complaints against a traffic so unjust and cruel. Yet certainly the African's natural right to pursue it is equally well grounded as that of the European. What principle of Christianity can you then plead in its vindication? Your superior power, avarice, and craft, the African acknowledges to his sad experience; but he complains of being made absolute property, such as cattle, goods and chattels, and subject to be seized, levied upon, and tossed from hand to hand for the payment of commercial debts, by the laws of your realm, to which he never owed any subjection or obedience. He complains of the means used to bring him into such grievous and deplorable circumstances, as unfair and iniquitous. He complains, that his utmost labour and industry for any limited time will not be accepted by the master he serves, as a compensation for the expense of his purchase, and that he and all his generation must remain slaves for ever, without hope of redemption or deliverance. And, without doubt, hard is his case, and well grounded are his complaints. Indeed the planter's concern only commences with the arrival of these slaves, and his contract made with the merchant, who, under the colour and authority of the laws, brought them into the country where he lives. For the purchase he makes he has also the sanction and countenance of law, which is in some measure a justification of his conduct. On provincial regulations, with respect to the subsequent management and treatment of negroes, we shall afterward take occasion to make some remarks. At present we shall only add, that in no instance can it be said to be a more plain and lamentable truth, that the love of money is the root of all evil, than when it urges men to trade in the bodies and souls of their fellow-creatures.

During the period of the usurpation in England, when the great councils of the nation were under the direction of men of mean birth and little education, the considerations of mercantile profit became connected with those of domi-

nion and the higher springs of government. After the conquest of Jamaica, it was resolved, that the nation should make a commercial profit of every colony that had been, or should be, planted in the western world. At the Restoration the same turn in politics was also adopted, and the parliament which brought about that great event made a law, by which it was enacted, that no sugar, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, fustic, or other dying wood, of the growth of an English plantation in Asia, Africa, or America, should be transported to any other place than to some English plantation, or to England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed, upon pain of forfeiture of ship and goods; that, for every vessel sailing from England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed, bond shall be given, with security of one or two thousand pounds sterling, money of Great Britain, that if she load any of the said commodities at such plantations, she shall bring them to some port of these English dominions. And for every vessel coming to the said plantations the governor shall, before she be permitted to load, take such bond as aforesaid, that she shall carry such commodities to England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick upon Tweed. This laid the foundation of what was afterward called *enumerated commodities;* and to these already mentioned, rice, hemp, copper ore, beaver skins, and naval stores, were afterward added, and, with some exceptions, subjected to the same restraint.

This navigation law, though it cramped the trade of the colonies, yet it has been attended with many beneficial consequences to Britain: and while she maintained the supreme power of legislation throughout the empire, and wisely regulated the trade and commerce of her foreign settlements, she might reap many and substantial advantages from them. She might render them a market for her manufactures, and at the same time supply herself with such commodities as her northern climate refused, and obliged her to purchase from other nations. By such means she might enlarge her commerce and trade, at the same time she increased her

naval strength. It was her interest in a particular manner to encourage settlements in a different climate, the productions of which luxury had made necessary to the support of her domestic dominions. Their articles of produce interfered not with those of Britain, and were in no danger of rivalling her at any market. But should the planters in these colonies begin to think themselves entitled to the privileges of raising what productions they please, and of sending them to any market they judged most advantageous to themselves, they would then become colonies equally useful to all the world; and the mother country, who discovered, peopled and protected them, would share no more advantage from them than rival states around her. On this principle Great Britain grounds her right to expect a market for her manufactures in the colonies she planted and nursed, and to regulate their produce and trade in such a channel as to render them only subservient to her own interest. Without this right they would not only be useless to her, but very prejudicial. Colonies planted in the same latitude with the parent state, raising the same productions, and enjoying the same privileges, must in time be both detrimental and dangerous; for while they drain her of inhabitants, they are growing strong upon her ruins. They meet her at the same market with the same commodities, a competition arises between them, and occasions jealousies, quarrels, and animosities. Then she will become sensible of the bad policy of having promoted such colonies, when they prove dangerous rivals in trade and commerce, and when perhaps it is become too late to remedy the evil: for a rival daughter often becomes the more abusive and troublesome, in proportion as she is better acquainted than strangers with the natural fondness and indulgent temper of a tender mother.

From Carolina indeed Britain had less to fear than from the more northern colonies, as the latitude was more remote, and the climate and soil better suited to different productions. Here the people naturally engaged in pursuits different from those of the mother country, and a mutual exchange of

commodities and good offices would of consequence the more necessarily take place. They might barter their skins, furs, and naval stores, for clothes, arms, ammunition, and utensils necessary for cultivation, imported from England. They might send their provisions, lumber, and Indian captives to the West Indies, and receive the luxuries of these islands, and the refuse of their cargoes of slaves, in return, without any prejudice to Britain: for as the two climates differed greatly, they were of consequence adapted to different articles of produce. To such staples the first views of the planters ought to have been chiefly directed, and, for their encouragement in raising them, premiums from the proprietors might have been attended with the most beneficial effects.

Before this time the Carolineans had found out the policy of setting one tribe of Indians against another, on purpose to save themselves. By trifling presents they purchased the friendship of some tribes, whom they employed to carry on war with others, which not only diverted their attention from them, but encouraged them to bring captives to Charlestown, for the purpose of transportation to the West Indies, and the advantage of trade. In the year 1693, twenty Cherokee chiefs waited on Governor Smith, with presents and proposals of friendship, craving the protection of government against the Esaw and Congaree Indians, who had destroyed several of their towns, and taken a number of their people prisoners. They complained also of the outrages of the Savanna Indians for selling their countrymen, contrary to former regulations established among the different tribes; and begged the governor to restore their relations, and protect them against such insidious enemies. Governor Smith declared to them, that there was nothing he wished for more than friendship and peace with the Cherokee warriors, and would do every thing in his power for their defence: that the prisoners were already gone, and could not be recalled; but that he would for the future take care that a stop should be put to the custom of sending

them off the country. At the same time the Chihaw king complained of the cruel treatment he had received from John Palmer, who had barbarously beat and cut him with his broad-sword. In answer to which charge Palmer was insolent and contumacious, and protested, in defiance and contempt of both governor and council, he would again treat him in like manner upon the same provocation; for which he was ordered into custody, until he asked pardon of the house, and found security for his future peaceable behaviour to Indians. Such instances of harsh treatment serve to account for many outrages of Indian nations, who were neither insensible to the common feelings of human nature, nor ignorant of the grievous frauds and impositions they suffered in the course of traffic. By some planters indeed they were used with greater humanity, and employed as servants to cultivate their lands, or hunt for fresh provisions to their families; and as the woods abounded with deer, rabbits, turkies, geese, ducks, snipes, &c. which were all accounted game, an expert hunter was of great service in a plantation, and could furnish a family with more provisions than they could consume.

With respect to government Carolina still remained in a confused and turbulent state. Complaints from every quarter was made to the governor, who was neither able to quiet the minds of the people, nor afford them the relief they wanted. The French refugees were uneasy that there was no provincial law to secure their estates to the heirs of their body, or the next in kin, and afraid that their lands at their death would escheat to the proprietors, and their children become beggars, notwithstanding their utmost industry and application; and, in such a case, the sooner they removed from the colony the better it would be for themselves and their posterity. The English colonists, not only kept up variances among themselves, but also perplexed the governor with their complaints of hardships and grievances. At last Landgrave Smith wrote the proprietors, and frankly told them, that he despaired of ever uniting the people in interest

and affection; that he and many more, weary of the fluctuating state of public affairs, had resolved to leave the province; and that he was convinced nothing would bring the settlers to a state of tranquillity and harmony, unless they sent out one of the proprietors, with full powers to redress grievances, and settle differences prevailing and likely to prevail more in their colony.

The proprietors, astonished at the discontented and turbulent spirit of the people, yet anxious to prevent the settlement from being deserted and ruined, resolved to try the remedy Landgrave Smith had suggested; and accordingly pitched on Lord Ashley, an ingenious and bright young nobleman, to go to Carolina, and invested him with full powers, after viewing the posture of affairs on the spot, to establish such regulations as he judged most conducive to the peace and welfare of the colony. Lord Ashley, however, having either little inclination to the voyage, or being detained in England by business of greater consequence, John Archdale agreed to embark in his place. Archdale was a man of considerable knowledge and discretion, a Quaker, and a proprietor; great trust was reposed in him, and much was expected from his negociations.

In the mean time Landgrave Smith having resigned his charge, Daniel Blake* was chosen governor, until the pleasure of the proprietors was known. So great was the antipathy of the English settlers to the French refugees now grown, that they insisted on their total exclusion from a voice in the legislature. For this purpose an address was prepared and signed by a great number of them, and presented to Governor Blake, praying, that the refugees might not only be denied the privilege of sitting as members of the legislative body, but also of a vote at their election, and that the assembly might be composed only of English members, chosen by Englishmen. Their request, however, being con-

* This is the individual who emigrated to Carolina a few years previous.

trary to the instructions of the proprietors, Blake, it is probable, judged beyond his power to grant, and therefore matters relating to them continued in the same unsettled state, until the arrival of Governor Archdale, which happened about the middle of the year 1695.

The arrival of this pious man occasioned no small joy among all the settlers, who crowded about him, each expecting some favour or indulgence. Amidst the general joy, private animosities and civil discord seemed for a while to lie buried in oblivion. The governor soon found that three interesting matters demanded his particular attention. The first was, to restore harmony and peace among the colonists themselves; the second, to reconcile them to the jurisdiction and authority of the proprietors; and the third, to regulate their policy and traffic with the Indian tribes. For these purposes he summoned his council for advice, and the commissions to the different deputies were read. The members appointed were Joseph Blake, Stephen Bull, James Moore, Paul Grimball, Thomas Carey, John Beresford, and William Hawett. All former judges of the courts, officers of the militia, and justices of the peace, were continued in their respective offices. But such was the national antipathy of the English settlers to the poor French refugees, that Archdale found their total exclusion from all concern in legislature was absolutely necessary to the peaceable convocation of the delegates, and therefore issued writs directing them only to Berkeley and Colleton counties. Ten members for the one, and ten for the other, all Englishmen, were accordingly chosen by the freemen of the same nation. At their meeting the governor made a seasonable speech to both houses, acquainting them with the design of his appointment, his regard for the colony, and great desire of contributing towards its peace and prosperity. They, in return, presented affectionate addresses to him, and entered on public business with great temper and unanimity. Matters of general moment and concern, Governor Archdale, by his extensive powers and great discretion settled to the satisfac-

tion of all, excepting the French refugees. The price of lands and the form of conveyances were fixed by law. Three years rent was remitted to those who held land by grant, and four years to such as held them by survey, without grant. Such lands as had escheated to the proprietors, were ordered to be let out or sold for their Lordships benefit. It was agreed to take the arrears of quit-rents either in money or commodities, as should be most easy and convenient for the planters. Magistrates were appointed, for hearing all causes between the settlers and Indians, and finally determining all differences between them. Public roads were ordered to be made, and water passages cut, for the more easy conveyance of produce to the market. Some former laws were altered, and such new statutes made as were judged requisite for the good government and peace of the colony. In short, public affairs began to put on an agreeable aspect, and to promise fair towards the future progress and welfare of the settlement. But as for the French refugees, all the governor could do for them was, to recommend it to the English freeholders to consider them in the most friendly and compassionate point of light, and to treat them with lenity and moderation.

No man could entertain more benevolent sentiments, with respect to the ignorant heathen savages, than Governor Archdale; his compassion for them was probably one of the weighty motives which induced him to undertake the voyage to this country.* To protect them against insults, and establish a fair trade and friendly intercourse with them, were regulations which both humanity required and sound policy dictated. But such was the rapacious spirit of individuals, that it could be curbed by no authority. Many advantages were taken of the ignorance of Indians in the way of traffic. The liberty of seizing their persons, and selling them for slaves to the West-India planters, the colonists could not be prevailed on entirely to resign, without much

* See Archdale's description of Carolina, Vol. 2. Hist. Col. So. C.

reluctance. At this time a war raged between two Indian nations, the one living in the British, the other in the Spanish territories. The Yamassees, a powerful tribe in Carolina, having made an incursion into Florida, took a number of Indians prisoners, whom they brought to Charlestown for sale to the provincial traders to Jamaica and Barbadoes. Governor Archdale no sooner heard of their arrival, than he ordered the Spanish Indians to be brought to him, and finding that they had been instructed in the rites and principles of the Catholic religion, he could not help considering it as an atrocious crime to sell Christians of any denomination. To maintain a good understanding between the two provinces, he sent the prisoners to Augustine, and along with them the Yamassee warriors, to treat of peace with the Indians of Florida. The Spanish governor wrote a letter to Mr. Archdale, thanking him for his humanity, and expressing a desire to live on terms of friendship and peace with the Carolineans. In consequence of which, Governor Archdale issued orders to all Indians in the British interest, to forbear molesting those under the jurisdiction of Spain. The two kings being at that time confederates, the like orders were issued at St. Augustine, and in a short time they were attended with beneficial effects. Such wise steps served not only to prevent slaughter and misery among these savages themselves, but an English vessel being accidentally shipwrecked on the coast of Florida, the Indians did the crew no harm, but, on the contrary, conducted them safe to Augustine, where the commandant furnished them with provisions, and sent them to the English settlements.

Nor did Governor Archdale confine his views to the establishment of a good correspondence with the Indian nations on the south of this settlement, but extended them also to those on the north side of it. Stephen Bull,* a member of the council and an Indian trader, at his request entered into a treaty of friendship with the Indians living

* Bull's island, near Sullivan's island, was called after this individual.

on the coast of North Carolina. This proved also favourable for some adventurers from New-England, who were soon after the conclusion of the treaty shipwrecked on that coast. These emigrants got all safe to land, but finding themselves surrounded by barbarians, expected nothing but instant death. However, to defend themselves in the best manner they could, they encamped in a body on the shore, and threw up an intrenchment around them. There they remained until their small stock of provisions was almost exhausted. The Indians, by making signs of friendship, frequently invited them to quit their camp; but they were afraid to trust them, until hunger urged them to run the hazard at all events. After they came out, the Indians received them with great civility, and not only furnished them with provisions, but also permitted some of them peaceably to travel over land to Charlestown, to acquaint the governor with their misfortune. Upon which a vessel was sent to North Carolina, which brought them to Cooper river, on the north side of which lands were allotted them for their accommodation; and they formed that settlement afterward known by the name of Christ's-church parish.

About the same time, two Indians of different tribes being intoxicated with liquor, a vice which they learned from the English settlers, quarrelled at Charlestown, and the one murdered the other. Among these barbarians, not to avenge the death of a friend is considered as pusillanimous, and whenever death ensues, drunkenness, accident, or even self-defence, are in their eyes no extenuation of the crime. The relations of the deceased, hearing of his death, immediately came to Charlestown, and demanded satisfaction. Governor Archdale, who had confined the murderer, being desirous to save his life, offered them a compensation; but they refused it, and insisted on blood for blood and death for death, according to the law of retaliation. To prevent the quarrel spreading wider among them, he was obliged to deliver the prisoner up to punishment and death. While they were conducting him to the place of execution, his

king, coming up to him, enjoined him, since he must die, to stand and die like a man; adding, at the same time, that he had often warned him of the danger of rum, and now he must lose his life for neglecting his counsel. When he had advanced to the stake to which he was to be fastened, he desired that they would not bind him, promising not to stir a foot from the spot; and accordingly he did not, but with astonishing resolution braved the terrors of death, and fell a sacrifice to justice, the frequent wages of blind drunkenness and mad excess.

It may now be thought a matter of surprise by some men, especially by such as know the advantages of agriculture, that the proprietors of Carolina, who were men of knowledge, and zealous for the interest and improvement of the colony, paid so little regard to the only thing upon which the subsistence of the inhabitants and the success of the settlement depended. Instead of framing codes of laws, and modelling the government of the country on principles of speculation, in which men are always in danger of error, especially when living in a different climate, far remote from the country they mean to govern; had they established a plantation in it for the particular purpose of making experiments, to find out what productions were most suitable to the soil and climate; this would have been of more real use than all the visionary laws they ever framed. The first planters were men of little knowledge or substance, many of them utter strangers to the arts of agriculture; and those who had been accustomed to husbandry in Europe, followed the same rules, and planted the same grain in Carolina, as they had formerly done in England; which were by no means adapted to the climate. They moved on in the old line, exhausted their strength in fruitless efforts, without presuming to imagine, that different articles of produce, and a deviation from the eastern modes of cultivation, could be beneficial. Hence the planters, though they had lands on the easiest terms, remained poor; and the fault was occasioned more by their ignorance and inexperience

than by the climate or soil. It was the business of the proprietors to have directed their views to such productions as were best suited to the nature of their lands, and most likely to reward their toil; and not to have left a matter of such importance to chance, or the ingenuity of poor labourers. Agriculture was certainly an object of the highest consequence to the settlers, and of course also to the proprietors of the country.*

Governor Archdale having finished his negociations in Carolina, made preparations for returning to Britain. During his time though the government had acquired considerable respect and stability, yet the differences among the people still remained. Former flames were rather smothered for a while than extinguished, and were ready on the first occasion to break out again and burn with greater violence. Before he embarked, the council presented to him an address, to be transmitted to the proprietors, expressing the deep sense they had of their Lordships paternal care for their colony, in the appointment of a man of such abilities and integrity to the government, who had been so

* It is no less censurable, than remarkable, that although the interest of South Carolina, from its first settlement, to its present time, has been agricultural, her citizens have nevertheless made as few improvements in the cultivation of the soil, as those of any other state in the Union. The same sluggish system which their fathers borrowed from the Indians, they now pursue. From the want of scientific investigation, and a judicious application of labour, a generous soil has been wasted away, and a noble state is impoverished by children, who, too prodigal in their youth, are not sufficiently courageous to retrieve themselves in manhood. Our state is daily deserted by its citizens, and the "distant West," where lands are better, and where more money can be made, is receiving our population. This is partly attributable to our people themselves, who have learned to forego all the finer sympathies, for the sake of gain; but much more, to the stupid and stubborn policy of our legislation, which refuses to protect agriculture by the establishment of schools for the benefit of its followers, and bounties for the encouragement of its professors. The agricultural interest, after all, is the chief prop of a nation. Where this is protected, all others flourish with it; where it is neglected, all others perish. This is a maxim which every legislator should be sworn to obey, in every movement of his political life.

happily instrumental in establishing its peace and security. They told them, they had now no contending factions in government, or clashing interests among the people, excepting what respected the French refugees, who were unhappy at their not being allowed all the privileges and liberties of English subjects, particularly those of sitting in assembly, and voting at the election of its members, which could not be granted them without losing the affections of the English settlers, and involving the colony in civil broils; that Governor Archdale, by the advice of his council, had chose rather to refuse them those privileges than disoblige the bulk of the British settlers; that, by his wise conduct, they hoped all misunderstandings between their Lordships and the colonists were now happily removed; that they would for the future cheerfully concur with them in every measure for the speedy population and improvement of the country; that they were now levying money for building fortifications, to defend the province against foreign attacks, and that they would strive to maintain harmony and peace among themselves. Governor Archdale received this address with peculiar satisfaction, and promised to present it to the proprietors on his arrival in England. Being empowered to nominate a lieutenant-governor, he made choice of Joseph Blake for his successor, and embarked for Britain about the close of the year 1696.

After Mr. Archdale's arrival in England, he laid this address, together with a state of the country, and the regulations he had established in it, before the proprietors, and showed them the necessity of abolishing many articles in the constitutions, and framing a new plan of government. Accordingly, they began to compile new constitutions; from his information and intelligence forty-one different articles were drawn up and sent out by Robert Daniel, for the better government of the colony. But when the governor laid these new laws before the assembly for their assent and approbation, recommending the careful perusal and consideration of them, they treated them as they had done the

former constitutions, and, instead of taking them under deliberation, modestly laid them aside.

Meanwhile France, having thought proper to recognize King William in the quality of king of Great Britain and Ireland, a treaty of peace was concluded between the two nations. After which, a project was formed by Lewis XIV. for establishing a colony of his people at the mouth of the great river Mississippi. To that immense territory lying to the eastward of that river, and extending along the back of the Appalachian mountains, from the Mexican seas to his dominions in Canada, he laid claim, which, in honour of him, was afterward called Louisiana. Some discerning men in England early warned the nation of danger to the British settlements from a French colony established on this quarter; yet many years elapsed before they began to feel the inconveniences and troubles arising from it. It was foreseen, that, besides the Spaniards, another competitor for power and dominion would spring up, in a situation where they had a fair opportunity of engrossing the trade and affections of Indian tribes, and harassing the weakest frontiers of the British colonies: and doubtless, from the influence and address of the Frenchmen among Indians, the English settlers had more to fear, than from the religious zeal and bigotry of indolent Spanish friars.

John Earl of Bath having succeeded Lord Craven as Palatine, several persons of character and influence in Carolina were by him created landgraves; among whom were Edmund Bellenger, John Bayley, and Robert Daniel; Edmund Bohun was appointed Chief Justice of the colony. About the same time Nicholas Trott, a learned and ambitious man, left the Bahama islands, and took up his residence in Carolina. Numbers from different quarters continued to resort to this country, and, notwithstanding its warm and unhealthy climate, the flattering prospects of landed estates induced men to run every risk; and the proprietors neglected no means which they judged conducive towards its speedy population.

With respect to the French refugees, the national antipathies among the colonists now began to abate, who, from their quiet and inoffensive behaviour, entertained daily more favourable sentiments of them. Along with their neighbours they had defied the dangers of the desert, and given ample proofs of their fidelity to the proprietors, their love to the people, and their zeal for the success of the colony. They had cleared little spots of land for raising the necessaries of life, and in some measure surmounted the difficulties of the first state of colonization. Yet none of them could boast of great success, excepting one man who had taught the Indians dancing and music, for which arts they discovered an amazing fondness, and liberally rewarded him for his instructions. At this favourable juncture the refugees, by the advice of the governor and other friends, petitioned the legislature to be incorporated with the freemen of the colony, and allowed the same privileges and liberties with those born of English parents. Accordingly an act passed for making all aliens free, for enabling them to hold lands, and to claim the same as heirs to their ancestors, who should take the oath of allegiance to King William. With this condition the refugees joyfully complied, and the proprietors, without scruple, ratified the law; in consequence of which, the French and English settlers, united in interest and affection, have ever since lived together in harmony and peace.

Though every person enjoyed liberty of conscience with respect to religion, yet, as the proprietors were Episcopalians, the tendency of their government leaned towards that mode of religious worship. Governor Blake, though a dissenter himself, possessed the most liberal sentiments towards men of a different persuasion. During his time a bill was brought into the assembly, for allowing the Episcopal minister of Charlestown, and his successors for ever, a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, together with a house, glebe, and two servants. Samuel Marshal, a pious and learned man, being the Episcopal minister at that time,

whose prudence and ability had gained him great esteem from Christians of all denominations, the bill passed with the less opposition. Dissenters in general, a large body of the people, conscious of the amiable character and great merit of the man, acquiesced in the measure; and as no motion had been made respecting any established church, they seemed apprehensive of no ill consequences from it. However, soon after this, when the design of the proprietors became more plain, this party, jealous above all things of their religious liberties, took the alarm, and opposed the establishment of the church of England in the colony with such violence, as occasioned no small ferment for many years in the settlement.

About this time the coast of Carolina was infested with pirates, who hovered about the mouth of Ashley river, and obstructed the freedom of trade. In the last year of the seventeenth century, the planters had raised more rice than they could find vessels to export. Forty-five persons from different nations, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Portuguese, and Indians, had manned a ship at the Havanna, and entered on a cruise of piracy. While they were on the coast of Carolina, the people felt severely the pernicious effects of that lawless trade, which in former times they were too apt to encourage. Several ships belonging to Charlestown were taken by those public robbers, who sent the crews ashore, but kept the vessels as their prizes. At last having quarrelled among themselves about the division of the spoil, as frequently happens among such free-booters, the Englishmen proving the weaker party, were turned adrift in a long-boat. They landed at Sewee bay, and from thence travelled over land to Charlestown, giving out that they had been shipwrecked, and fortunately escaped to shore in their boat. But, to their sad disappointment and surprise, no less than three masters of ships happened to be at Charlestown at the time, who had been taken by them, and knew them; upon whose testimony the pirates were instantly taken up, tried and condemned, and seven out of nine suffered death.

During the autumn of the same year, a dreadful hurricane happened at Charlestown, which did great damage, and threatened the total destruction of the town. The lands on which it is built being low and level, and not many feet above high-water mark, the swelling sea rushed in with amazing impetuosity, and obliged the inhabitants to fly for shelter to the second stories of their houses. Happily few lives were lost in town; but a large vessel, called the Rising Sun, belonging to Glasgow, and commanded by James Gibson, which had come from Darien with part of the unfortunate Scotch settlers, at the time of the storm rode at anchor off the bar. This ship the hurricane drove from her anchor, and dashed to pieces against the sand-banks, and every person on board perished. Archibald Stobo, a Presbyterian clergyman, Lieutenant Graham, and several more belonging to the ship, being accidentally on shore during the tempest, escaped the disaster. These men going next day in search of their unfortunate countrymen, found the corpses of the greatest part of them driven ashore on James's island, where they spent a whole day in burying them, the last act of humanity they could then perform to their beloved companions.

Nor was this the only disaster which distinguished this year in the annals of Carolina. A fire broke also out in Charlestown, and laid the most of it in ashes. The small-pox raged through the town, and proved fatal to multitudes of the rising generation. To complete their distress, an infectious distemper broke out, and carried off an incredible number of people, among whom were Chief Justice Bohun, Samuel Marshal the Episcopal clergyman, John Ely the receiver-general, Edward Rawlins the provost-martial, and almost one half of the members of assembly. Never had the colony been visited with such general distress and mortality. Few families escaped a share of the public calamities. Almost all were lamenting the loss, either of their habitations by the devouring flames, or of friends or relations by the infectious and loathsome maladies. Dis-

couragement and despair sat on every countenance. Many of the survivors could think of nothing but abandoning a country on which the judgments of heaven seemed to fall so heavy, and in which there was so little prospect of success, health, or happiness. They had heard of Pennsylvania, and how pleasant and flourishing a province it was described to be, and therefore were determined to embrace the first opportunity that offered of retiring to it with the remainder of their families and effects.

Governor Blake, deeply sensible of the public distress, tried every art for alleviating the misery of the people, and encouraging them to perseverance; but the members of assembly who survived, became so negligent about public affairs, that he found himself under a necessity of dissolving the house, and calling another, hoping that they might be more zealous and active in concerting measures for the public relief. Of this new assembly Nicholas Trott, whose talents had raised him above the level of his fellow-representatives, was made speaker, and who warmly espoused the cause of the people, in opposition to the interest of the proprietors. The governor and council claimed the privilege of nominating public officers, particularly a receiver-general, until the pleasure of the proprietors was known. The assembly, on the other hand, insisted that it belonged to them. This occasioned several messages between the two houses, and much altercation. However, the upper house appointed their man. The lower house resolved, that the person appointed by them was no public receiver, and that whoever should presume to pay money to him as such, should be deemed an infringer of the privileges of assembly, and an enemy to the country. Trott flatly denied they could be called an upper house, though they thus styled themselves, as they differed in the most essential circumstances from the house of lords in England; and therefore led the assembly to call them the proprietors deputies, and to treat them with indignity and contempt, by limiting them to a day to pass their bills, and to an hour

to answer their messages. At this time Trott was eager in the pursuit of popularity, and by his uncommon abilities and address succeeded in a wonderful manner. Never had any man there, in so short a time, so thoroughly engrossed the public favour and esteem, or carried matters with so high a hand, in opposition to the proprietary counsellors.

About the close of the year 1700, Governor Blake died, and a dispute arose in the upper house about the succession to the government. Joseph Morton, as eldest Landgrave, claimed the preference, until the pleasure of the Palatine was known. But James Moore, a needy, forward and ambitious man, stood forth in competition, and, by activity and art, gained a number over in support of his pretensions. He objected to Landgrave Morton, because he had accepted a commission from King William to be judge of the court of vice-admiralty, while, at the same time, he held one of the proprietors to the same office: this Moore and his friends declared to be a breach of the trust reposed in him, and that he might with equal propriety have accepted of a commission from King William to be governor, while he held that office of the proprietors. Landgrave Morton replied, that there was a necessity for holding a commission from the king to be judge of the court of vice-admiralty, because it did not appear from the charter that the proprietors could empower their judge to try persons for acts committed without the bounds of their colony, and that with such jurisdiction the judge of the admiralty ought for many reasons always to be vested. However, the upper house deemed the objection of force sufficient to set Morton aside, and James Moore was chosen successor to Governor Blake. From which period the colony may date the beginning of further jealousies and troubles, which continued for several years, and obstructed its progress in improvement. Various intrigues crept into the seat of government, and several encroachments were made on the liberties and privileges of the people, both civil and religious.

King William, though he maintained the power of the

established church, yet he often discovered a secret attachment to Presbyterians, and on all occasions treated them with lenity and moderation. Hence many of the more zealous friends to the church of England, alarmed at the prospects of its dangerous situation, became eagerly bent not only in support of its constitution, but even of its minutest forms, usages, and vestments. Lord Granville among the rest, after he was called up to the house of peers, had there distinguished himself as an inflexible bigot for the High-church, having been early taught to entertain the most supercilious contempt for dissenters of all denominations. Being now also Palatine of Carolina, he soon discovered that the establishment of Episcopacy, and the suppression of all other modes of religious worship, in that country, was the chief object of his zeal and attention. James Moore being considered as a man more fit than Landgrave Morton for assisting him in the accomplishment of his favourite design, the more easily obtained a confirmation of his election to the government.

Here it may not be improper to observe, that several eminent men had appeared in England, who, pitying the miserable state of the western world with respect to religion, had proposed some public spirited design for the propagation of the gospel among the heathens on that vast continent. Robert Boyle, no less distinguished for his eminent piety than universal learning, had been appointed by Charles II. governor of a corporation established for the propagation of the Christian religion among Indians, the natives of New England and parts adjacent, in America. Queen Mary afterward discovered a great desire for enlarging their plan, and for this purpose gave a bounty of two hundred pounds sterling annually to support missionaries in that quarter. Dr. Compton, bishop of London, was at pains to procure a state of religion among the English colonies, from a persuasion of the necessity and propriety of beginning this charitable work among them; and Dr. Thomas Bray, his commissary in Maryland, furnished him with one suited to ex-

cite sympathy and compassion in every pious and generous breast. At length Dr. Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury, undertook the laudable design, applied to the crown, and obtained a charter incorporating a society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts. The nation in general entered into the design with their usual ardour for all benevolent and charitable institutions. From different parts large benefactions were received by this society, and it was soon enable to supportd a number of missionaries in the plantations. Religious books were purchased and sent out to different provinces, and Carolina among the rest received a number of them.* A law passed for instituting a public library in the province, to remain under the care and custody of the Episcopal minister of Charlestown. Edward Marston at this time took the charge of it, and was disposed to contribute every thing in his power towards rendering it generally useful. But the dissenters, from the choice of the books, most of which were wrote by Episcopal divines, and in defence of the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church of England, soon perceived the intention of the society, and a library framed on such a narrow foundation was treated with neglect, and proved utterly ineffectual for promoting the desired end, I mean, the religious instruction of the people.

About this time the number of inhabitants in the colony amounted to between five and six thousand, besides Indians and negroes. In Charlestown they had one minister of the church of England, and another of the church of Scotland; but in the country there was no such thing as public wor-

* This society established at its own expense many churches and schools in Carolina; and was instrumental in collecting and preserving some of the most valuable papers and documents relating to the history of the colonies. A catalogue of these works was published by them several years anterior to the American Revolution, in which mention is made of several works, which must have been immensely valuable in elucidating our early Colonial History. See Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia, in Mass. Hist. Lib.; also, History of the church in Carolina, Vol. 2. Hist. Col. So. Car.

ship, nor schools for the education of children; and people living thus scattered through a forest, were likely in time to sink by degrees into the same state of ignorance and barbarism with the natural inhabitants of the wilderness. To supply these destitute colonists with proper means of instruction, called for the first attention of the society; for as Indians and negroes would naturally take their first religious impressions from their neighbours, to begin at this place was like paving the way for extending wider the benefits of instruction. In what manner the colony was supplied with ministers from this society, and how far the interest of religion in that country was promoted by it, we shall afterward have occasion more particularly to narrate.

To prepare the province for the charitable assistance of this society, it was judged necessary to have the church of England established in it by a provincial law, and the country divided into different parishes. The Palatine imagined that these internal troubles and differences, by which the colony had hitherto been agitated, and the government rendered feeble and fluctuating, were occasioned by the clashing sentiments of the people with respect to religion. To remedy this evil, he perceived that some bond of union was necessary, to carry on public measures with ease and success; and religion had been deemed the firmest cement of every state. He knew that the Episcopal form of church government was more favourable to monarchy and the civil constitution than the Presbyterian, as in it a chain of dependence subsists, from the highest to the lowest in the church. While therefore he instructed Governor Moore to study all possible means of persuading the assembly to acquiesce in that form contained in the fundamental constitutions, he was equally zealous for an established church, that the wheels of their government might be no more clogged by religious dissentions.

But as a great majority of the colonists were dissenters, who had fled from England on account of rigorous acts of uniformity, their minds were ill disposed to admit of any

establishment. Their former prejudices they had not yet thrown aside; their hardships in England they had not yet forgot. Their private opinions respecting religion were various as their different complexions, and unlimited toleration was granted to all by the charter. They could hear of no proposals about an established church, and the Palatine at such an unseasonable time, showed more zeal than prudence or good policy in attempting to introduce it among them. The governor found them inflexible and obstinate in opposing such a measure; and the people even began to repent of having passed a law for fixing a salary for ever on the rector of the Episcopal church, and considered it as a step preparatory to further encroachments.

The great object with Governor Moore was to improve his time, not knowing how long his precarious power might last, for bettering his low and indigent circumstances. It appeared to him, that the traffic in Indians was the shortest way to riches.* He therefore granted commissions to several persons, to assault, trepan and captivate as many Indians as they could, and resolved to turn the profits of such trade to his own private emolument. Not contented with this cruel method of acquiring wealth, he formed a design for engrossing the whole advantages arising to the colony from their commerce with Indian nations. For this purpose a bill was brought into the assembly for regulating the Indian trade, and drawn up in such a manner as would cause all the profits of it to center in his hands. But Nicholas Trott, Robert Stephen, and others, proved to the assembly the pernicious tendency of such a bill, and therefore it was thrown out. At which Governor Moore being highly offended, dissolved the house, in hopes of procuring another more favourable to his private views and interests.

At the election of the next assembly the governor and his

* It has been attempted to deny that Moore carried on this traffic in Indians. The most indisputable evidence, however, will be found in his letter in Vol. 2. of these collections.

friends exerted all their power and influence to bring in men of their own complexion, I mean such as would be most compliant with Moore's instructions from England, and most ready to assist him in advancing his interest. Nicholas Trott, who had hitherto shone like a star of the first magnitude on the opposite side, being now appointed Attorney-general, threw all his influence and weight into the scale of government, turned his back on his former friends, and strongly supported that tottering fabric which he had formerly endeavoured to pull down. Charlestown, where all freeholders met to give their suffrages, at the time of this election was a scene of riot, intemperance, and confusion. The sheriff, having instructions so to do, admitted every person to vote; the members of Colleton county say, even common sailors, servants, foreigners, and mulattoes. Such freeholders as stood forth in opposition to the governor's party, were abused and insulted. At length, when the poll was closed, one half of the persons elected were found to be men of neither sense nor credit; but being the chosen creatures of the governor, it was his business to prevent all inquiry into the conduct of the sheriff, and the qualifications of such members.

At this time Carteret county was inhabited only by Indians; but in Colleton county there were no less than two hundred freeholders, who had a right to vote for delegates to assembly. The principal plantations in it were those of the late Sir John Yeamans, Landgraves Morton, Bellenger, and Axtell, and those of Blake, Boone, Gibbes, Schinking, and others. The people of this county being highly offended at the manner of election, particularly the arts and intrigues practised, and the riot and intemperance permitted at it, drew up a representation of the whole transaction, and transmitted it to the proprietors in England: but the Palatine was too deeply concerned in promoting those measures of which they complained, to grant them any favourable answer. In Berkley county the principal settlements were those of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Governor Moore, Land-

graves West, Smith, Bayley, and Daniel; together with those belonging to Godfrey, Mathews, Izard, Colleton, Grimball, &c.; several of whom were also dissatisfied with the public proceedings. But Craven county being composed of French refugees, who having little knowledge of the English language, were easily managed; many of whom supported the governor purely out of affection to the proprietors. In short, the house consisted of thirty members, one half of whom were elected from the dregs of the people, utter strangers to the public affairs, and in every respect unqualified for sitting as provincial legislators.

In the mean time, a rupture took place in Europe between England and Spain, which turned the attention of the colony to a different object, and afforded Governor Moore an opportunity of exercising his military talents, and a new prospect of enriching himself by Spanish plunder or Indian captives. Accordingly, instead of private disputes among themselves, he proposed to the assembly an expedition against the Spanish settlement at Augustine. Many of the people, from mercenary motives, applauded the proposal; however, men of cool reflection, having yet had no intelligence of the declaration of war, were averse from rushing into any hazardous enterprise, until they had certain advice of it from England. As the expedition was projected, contrary to the opinion and inclination of many Carolineans, without any recent provocation from the Spanish garrison; it is probable that the governor engaged in it chiefly from views of private emolument. Florida, he assured the people would be an easy conquest; and treasures of gold and silver were held out to them as the rewards of valour. In vain did some members of the assembly oppose it, by representing the province as weak, and ill provided for warlike enterprises, and by hinting at the many hazards and difficulties always attending them; in vain did they urge the strength of the Spanish fort, and the expenses incurred by a fruitless and perhaps bloody expedition: such men were called enemies and traitors to their country, and repre-

sented as timid and pusillanimous wretches, who were utter strangers to great and glorious undertakings. Accordingly, a great majority of the assembly declared for the expedition, and a sum of two thousand pounds sterling was voted for the service of the war. Six hundred Indians were engaged, who, being fond of warlike exploits, gladly accepted of arms and ammunition offered them for their aid and assistance. Six hundred provincial militia were raised, and schooners and merchant ships were impressed, for transports to carry the forces. Port-Royal was fixed upon as the place of general rendezvous, and there, in September 1702, the governor, at the head of his warriors, embarked in an expedition equally rash and fool-hardy on one side, as it was well known and unprovoked on the other.

While these preparations were going on in Carolina, the Spaniards, apprised of the governor's design, were making ready for their defence. In the plan of operations it had been agreed, that Colonel Daniel, who was an officer of spirit, should go by the inland passage with a party of militia and Indians, and make a descent on the town from the land, while the governor with the main body should proceed by sea, and block up the harbour. Colonel Daniel lost no time, but advanced against the town, entered and plundered it before the governor got forward to his assistance. But the Spaniards having laid up provisions for four months in the castle, on his approach retired to it, with all their money and most valuable effects. Upon the arrival of Governor Moore, the place was invested with a force against which the Spaniards could not appear, and therefore kept themselves shut up in their strong-hold. The governor finding it impossible to dislodge them without such artillery as are necessary to a siege, despatched a sloop to Jamaica, on purpose to bring cannon, bombs, and mortars, for attacking the castle; and Colonel Daniel embarked and sailed with the greatest expedition to bring them. During his absence two Spanish ships, the one of 22 guns and the other of 16, appearing off the mouth of the harbour, struck such a

panic into the governor, that he instantly raised the siege, abandoned his ships, and made a precipitate retreat to Carolina by land. In consequence of which the Spaniards in the garrison were not only relieved, but the ships, provisions, and ammunition, belonging to the Carolineans, fell also into their hands. Colonel Daniel, on his return, standing in for the harbour of Augustine, found to his surprise the siege raised, and made a narrow escape from the enemy.

Military expeditions rashly undertaken, conducted by a headstrong and inexperienced officer, and executed by raw and ill-disciplined troops, seldom succeed. We are not able to account for the governor's conduct in raising this siege, after he had been a month in possession of the town, unless he was in immediate want of provisions or ammunition, or his men, having little confidence in his abilities, threatened to desert him: for if the Spanish ships drew more than ten feet water, which it is probable they must have done, they could not come over the bar to injure him: if they landed their men, yet still his force was superior to that of the enemy, and he might at least have risked a battle on such grounds, before he made an inglorious retreat. The Indians were averse from leaving the field, without scalps, plunder, or glory. It is true, the Spanish ships of war might have prevented Colonel Daniel from getting into the harbour with the supply of military stores, yet the coast was large, and afforded many more places for landing them. The governor had Indians to hunt for provisions to his men, and it was by no means impossible to have starved the garrison, and compelled them to surrender. What then shall we think of a commander, who, on the first appearance of a little danger, abandons his station, however advantageous, and tamely yields up, not only the town, but also his own ships and provisions to the enemy?

Upon his return to Carolina many severe reflections were thrown out against him, as might naturally have been expected; but especially by that party who opposed the enterprise. It is true, it proved not a bloody expedition,

the governor having lost no more than two men in it; yet it entailed a debt of six thousand pounds sterling on a poor colony, which, at that period, was a grievous burden. The provincial assembly, who, during the absence of the governor, had been under prorogation, now met, to concert ways and means for discharging this public debt. Great dissensions and confusion prevailed among them; but the governor, having a number of men under arms to whom the country stood indebted, despised all opposition, and silenced the malecontents by threats and compulsion. A bill was brought into the assembly for stamping bills of credit, to answer the public expense, which were to be sunk in three years by a duty laid upon liquors, skins, and furs.* In this measure all parties acquiesced, as it fell easy on private persons, at the same time that it satisfied the public creditors. This was the first paper money issued in Carolina, and, for five or six years after the emission, it passed in the country at the same value and rate with the sterling money of England. How, in process of time, it increased in quantity and sunk in value; how it was deemed useful by debtors and prejudicial by creditors, we shall afterward have occasion more particularly to demonstrate. At present it may suffice to observe, that it was absolutely necessary to support the public credit, and the most practicable method the colony had of defraying the expenses incurred by the unsuccessful expedition.

Notwithstanding his past misfortunes, Governor Moore, fond of warlike exploits, had still in view the striking some blow that might distinguish his administration. The Appalachian Indians, by their connexion with the Spaniards, had become insolent and troublesome. Mr. Moore determined to chastise them, and for this purpose marched at the head of a body of white men and Indian allies, into the heart of their settlements. Wherever he went he carried fire and sword along with him, and struck a terror into his

* See Vol. 2. p. 145, also 256. Hist. Col. So. Ca.

enemies. The towns of those tribes who lived between the rivers Alatamaha and Savanna he laid in ashes, captivated many savages, and obliged others to submit to the English government. This exertion of power in that quarter was attended with good effects, as it filled the savages with terror of the British arms, and helped to pave the way for the English colony afterward planted between these rivers. The governor received the thanks of the proprietors for his patriotism and courage, who acknowledged that the success of his arms had gained their province a reputation; but, what was of greater consequence to him, he wiped off the ignominy of the Augustine expedition, and procured a number of Indian slaves, whom he employed to cultivate his fields, or fold for his own profit and advantage.

About this time Sir Nathaniel Johnson introduced the raising of silk into the country, which is an article of commerce exceedingly profitable, and, by proper encouragement, might have been made very beneficial both to the colony and the mother country. Mulberry-trees grew spontaneously in the woods, and thrived as well as other natural productions. The great demand for silk in Britain made it an object of the highest consequence. About the beginning of March the worms are hatched from the eggs; nature having wisely so ordered it, that the silk-worms should come into life at the time mulberry leaves, on which they feed, begin to open. The feeding and cleaning them required rather skill than strength. Young persons might have been employed in furnishing leaves; one man of judgment and skill might have attended a large house full of worms; and in six weeks their whole operations are over. An article so profitable, and so easily raised, ought to have engaged the attention of the proprietors, and induced them to give premiums to such men as should bring to market the greatest quantities of it. Men of knowledge and skill from Europe ought to have been hired and sent out by them, for instructing the colonists in the management of the worms and winding of the silk. Where the climate was so well adapted to

the purpose, could any article of improvement be conceived more likely to reward them for their expense? However, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, after all his pains, rather showed what might have been done towards the culture of silk in that province, than made such progress in it as to render the commodity of national advantage.

To the culture of cotton the climate and soil were equally favourable. It might have been planted on lands newly cleared, or on light and sandy grounds, such as the maritime parts of Carolina, which are by no means unsuitable to the production. The seeds are commonly sown about two feet and a half asunder, and grow up like other plants. Indeed the fields require to be kept clean, and the fresh earth carefully thrown around the plant, to defend it against the winds; but this is no difficult task, and might be performed by hands incapable of more severe labour. When the pods burst, cotton is gathered, and separated from the seeds; which is the most tedious and troublesome part of the business requisite. This article also, though not of importance enough to have engrossed the whole attention of the colonists, might nevertheless, in conjunction with other staples, have been rendered profitable and useful.

Instead of these and several other articles, to which the views of the planters in the weaker and earlier state of the colony ought to have been turned in some degree, we find from this period the culture of rice engrossing their whole strength and attention. This commodity being an article of provision, was indeed likely always to find a good market; yet it was scarcely possible to have fixed on a staple which required more severe labour during the whole process of its preparation. The warm climate and low lands were doubtless well adapted to the nature of the grain, after experience had taught the husbandman to clear and cultivate the swampy grounds for that purpose: yet it is certain that the planters long went on with this article, and exhausted their strength in raising it on higher lands, which poorly rewarded them for their toil. After clearing the lands they commonly

plant it in furrows made with a hoe, about eighteen inches asunder. When the seed is sown the fields must be carefully kept clear of noxious weeds, which retard its growth, and the earth must also be laid up to the root of the rice, to facilitate its progress. No work can be imagined more pernicious to health, than for men to stand in water mid-leg high, and often above it, planting and weeding rice; while the scorching heat of the sun renders the air they breathe ten or twenty degrees hotter than the human blood, and the putrid and unwholesome effluvia from an oozy bottom and stagnated water poison the atmosphere. They sow it in April, or early in May, and reap in the latter end of August, or in the month of September. After which it is dried and carried to the barn-yard, and built in stacks, in like manner as the corn in Europe. After this it is thrashed, winnowed, and ground in mills made of wood, to free the rice from the husk. Then it is winnowed again, and put into a wooden mortar, and beat with large wooden pestles, which labour is so oppressive and hard, that the firmest nerves and most vigorous constitutions sink under it. To free it from the dust and flour occasioned by pounding, it is sifted first through one sieve, and then, to separate the small and broken rice from the large, through another. Last of all, it is put into large barrels of enormous weight, and carried to the market. During the whole tedious process of its preparation, much care and great strength are requisite, and many thousands of lives from Africa have been sacrificed, in order to furnish the world with this commodity.

CHAPTER IV.

After the death of King William, which happened on the 8th of March 1702, agreeable to the act made for settling the succession, the crown devolved on Anne Stewart, the youngest daughter of King James II. by his first marriage. At her accession to the throne, though in reality she was no friend to the Whig party, she declared that she would make the late king's conduct the model of her own, and maintain the succession to the crown in the Protestant line. The first object of her reign was to humble the pride of France, the power of which nation had at that time grown to such an exorbitant height, as to endanger the liberties of Europe. Lewis XIV. had such influence with the Spanish nation, as to persuade them to join him in proclaiming the pretended Prince of Wales king of Great Britain and Ireland. He had also made many encroachments on the freedom of English commerce and navigation. The indignity offered to her crown, Queen Anne determined to resent, and therefore, on the 4th of May, declared war against France and Spain, which, for many years, she carried on with amazing vigour and success.

About this juncture Sir Nathaniel Johnson received a commission from John Lord Granville, investing him with the government of Carolina, to which office a salary of two hundred pounds was annexed, to be paid annually by the Receiver-general of the colony. This gentleman had not only been bred a soldier from his youth, but had been also a member of the house of commons, and

was well qualified for the trust. But it being suspected that he was no friend to the Revolution, the proprietors could not obtain her majesty's approbation of him, but on the following terms:—that he qualify himself for the office in such a manner as the laws of England required; that he give security for his observing the laws of trade and navigation, and obey such instructions as should be sent out from time to time by her majesty; and the Lords Commissioners of trade and plantations were ordered to take care that good and sufficient security be given by him.

With respect to his own conduct in the government of the colony, he had instructions from the proprietors to follow such rules as had been given to former governors, in the fundamental constitutions and temporary laws entered upon record, and to be guided by the same as far as in his judgment he might think fit and expedient. He was required, with the advice and assistance of his council, carefully to review the constitutions, and such of them as he should think necessary to the better establishment of government, and calculated for the good of the people, he was ordered to lay before the assembly for their concurrence and assent. He was to use his endeavours to dispose of their lands; but to take nothing less than twenty pounds for a thousand acres; and, in all future grants to make them escheat to the proprietors, unless a settlement be made on them within the space of four years. He was to take special care that the Indians be not abused or insulted, and to study the properest methods of civilizing them, and creating a firm friendship with them, in order to protect the colony against the Spaniards in the neighbourhood. He was to transmit to England exact copies of all laws passed, accounts of the lands sold, and of all annual rents paid, &c. These, and such other regulations as he might judge essential to the welfare of the country, and the interest of the proprietors, he had particular injunctions to study and adopt.

I have already observed, that the colony was in a deplo-

rable state with respect to religion. The first emigrants from England, where public worship was countenanced, and had the sanction of the civil authority, retained indeed for a little time some sense of religion, and showed some respect for the ordinances of the gospel: but their children, born in a wilderness, where there was not so much as even the semblance of public worship, were likely to grow up in ignorance, and to live entirely void of all sense of religion. The proprietors were either unable to furnish them with the proper means of instruction, or they were unwilling to bear the expense of it, having as yet received little recompense for the past charges of the settlement. Not only the emigrants from England, but also those from France and Holland, were much divided in their private opinions with respect to modes of religious worship; and for this reason all governors, excepting the last, had prudently deferred meddling in a matter which would occasion uneasiness and confusion among the settlers. Still, however, the establishment of the church of England in Carolina was the chief object in view with the proprietors. The palatine* was a bigoted zealot for this mode of ecclesiastical worship and government: the governor was strongly attached to it. James Moore, who was made receiver-general, and Nicholas Trott the attorney-general, were also men of the same complexion. These men, assisted by a majority of the council, now began to concert measures with art and skill, and to pursue them with firmness and resolution, for accomplishing this end, and gratifying the earnest desire of the palatine.

It was not, however, without some difficulty and consider-

* Lord Granville was at this time palatine. This nobleman entertained the utmost aversion and contempt for dissenters of all descriptions; and he had already signalized his bigotry to the church of England, by the zealous and vehement support which he had given in parliament, to the bill imposing severe penalties on any person, who having conformed so far to the church of England as to entitle him to hold a civil office, should ever after attend a dissenting place of worship. Grahame's U. States, Vol. 2. p. 172.

able struggles, that the keen opposition raised by dissenters, who now plainly perceived their design, and who had an irreconcilable aversion from Episcopacy, could be overcome. This the governor and his party foresaw, and therefore it became necessary first to exert themselves to secure a majority in the assembly in favour of the measure they had in view. Hitherto the riotous proceedings at the former election had been overlooked, and the rioters, by the countenance and protection of the preceding governor, had escaped prosecution. The grand jury presented this neglect as a grievance to the court; but the judge told them, "That was a matter which lay before the governor and council, his superiors." When the complaint was made to the governor in council, he replied, "That these irregularities happened before his appointment to the government, but that he would take care to prevent them for the time to come." Notwithstanding this declaration, if we may believe the dissenters, at the following election still greater irregularities prevailed. By the same undue influence and violence the governor and his adherents gained their point, and secured a majority in the house; so that a species of corruption had now infected the great fountain of liberty, the election of representatives.

It would appear that some of the colonists at this period had distinguished themselves by loose principles and licentious language, and had treated some of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion with the ridicule and contempt of professed infidelity. To bring an odium upon this class of dissenters, and to discourage such licentious practices, a bill was brought into the new assembly for the suppression of blasphemy and profaneness; by which bill, whoever should be convicted of having spoken or written any thing against the Trinity, or the divine authority of the Old or New Testament, by the oath of two or more credible witnesses, was to be made incapable, and disabled in law to all intents and purposes, of being members of assembly, or of holding any office of profit, civil or military, within the province: and whoever should be convicted of such crimes

a second time, was also to be disabled from suing or bringing any action of information in any court of law or equity, from being guardian to any child, executor or administrator to any person; and without bail suffer imprisonment for three years. Which law, notwithstanding its fine gloss, favoured not a little of an inquisition, and introduced a species of persecution ill calculated to answer the end for which it was intended. To punish men guilty of blasphemy and profaneness in this way, instead of bringing their atrocious crimes into public disrepute and abhorrence, served rather to render their persons objects of compassion, and induce men to pity them on account of their sufferings. Bad as the world is, these wicked practices seldom miss their deserved rewards—public ignominy and detestation, which perhaps would fall heavier on such wretches without penal laws than with them.

However, had Sir Nathaniel Johnson stopped here, many reasons might have been urged in his vindication; but he had other measures in view, much more unpopular and oppressive. He looked upon dissenters of every denomination as enemies to the constitutions of both church and state, and therefore, to subvert their power and influence, or compel them to uniformity of sentiment, another bill was brought into the assembly, framed in such a manner as to exclude them entirely from the house of representatives. This bill required every man who should hereafter be chosen a member of assembly, to take the oaths and subscribe the declaration appointed by it, to conform to the religion and worship of the church of England, and to receive the sacrament of our Lord's Supper, according to the rites and usage of that church; a qualification which dissenters considered as having a manifest tendency to rob them of all their civil rights or religious liberties. To carry this bill through the house, all the art and influence of the governor and his party were requisite. In the lower house it passed by a majority of one vote, and in the upper house Landgrave Joseph Morton was refused liberty to enter his protest

against it. At this juncture no bill could have been framed more inconsistent with the rights and privileges of the freemen, and more pernicious to the interest and prosperity of the country. Dissenters, who were a numerous and powerful body of the people, were highly offended, and raised a great outcry against it. Seeing themselves reduced to the necessity of receiving laws from men whose principles of civil and ecclesiastical government they abhorred, and subjected to greater hardships than they suffered in England, many had formed resolutions of abandoning the colony. Loud clamours were not only heard without doors, but jealousies and discontent filled the hearts of many within them, not of dissenters only, but also of those who adhered to the church.

In this distracted state of the colony, the inhabitants of Colleton county, composed chiefly of dissenters, met and drew up a state of their grievous circumstances, which they resolved to transmit to the proprietors, praying their lordships to repeal this oppressive act. John Ash, one of the most zealous men in the opposition, agreed to embark for England as agent for the aggrieved party, computed to be at least two-thirds of the whole inhabitants of the colony. The governor and his friends, apprized of this design, used all possible means to prevent him from obtaining a passage in any ship belonging to Carolina. Upon which Ash went to Virginia, to which province his instructions were conveyed to him, and from thence he set sail for England.

After his arrival he waited on Lord Granville, the palatine, acquainting him with the design of his message; but met with a very cold reception. That nobleman was too deeply concerned in bringing about that establishment against which Ash came to complain, favourably to listen to his representations. Accordingly, after staying some time in London, and giving the proprietors all the information in his power relating to public affairs, the only satisfaction he could obtain from the palatine was this, that he should cause his secretary to write to the governor an account of the

grievances and hardships of which Mr. Ash complained, and require an answer from him with respect to them. Mr. Ash, observing how the palatine stood affected, and despairing of success, immediately began to draw up a representation of their case, which he intended for the press: but before he had finished it he was taken sick, and died; and his papers fell into his enemies' hands. He was a man of a warm and passionate temper, and possessed of all those violent sentiments which ill usage, disappointment, and oppression, naturally kindle in the human breast. His representation, intended as an appeal to the nation in general, for the sufferings of the people under the tyrannical proprietary government, was full of heavy charges against the governor and his party in Carolina, and bitter reflections on their conduct, which he considered as in the highest degree injurious to the colony.

Without doubt the lords proprietors planned this establishment with a view to the peaceful influence it would have upon the civil government of the country, as the preamble to the act expressly indicates. Their feeble and fluctuating state required the assistance and authority of an established church, and the sanction of religion, to give it more weight and influence with the people. How far the measures adopted served to promote the desired end, and were consistent with prudence and good policy, will afterward more clearly appear.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson having advanced so far, was determined to proceed in spite of every obstacle thrown in his way. He instituted what the inhabitants of Carolina took to be a high-commission court, like that of King James the second. It was enacted, that twenty lay-persons be constituted a corporation for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with full power to deprive ministers of their livings at pleasure, not for immorality only, but also for imprudence, or on account of unreasonable prejudices taken against them. In vain did many persons complain of this institution, as

tearing the ecclesiastical jurisdiction out of the hands of the bishop of London, in whose diocess the whole British colonies in America were included. The governor, bent on carrying into execution the favourite plan of the palatine, paid little regard to the uneasy apprehensions of the people. According to the act for erecting churches, the colony is divided into ten parishes; seven in Berkley, two in Colleton, and one in Craven counties. Money is provided for building churches; lands are granted for glebes and church-yards; and salaries for the different rectors are fixed and appointed, payable from the provincial treasury. When these bills were transmitted to England, to be ratified and confirmed by the proprietors, John Archdale opposed them, and insisted that the dissenters of Carolina had not yet forgot the hardships they suffered in England from acts of uniformity; that the right of private judgment in religious matters was the birthright of every man; that undisturbed liberty of conscience was allowed to every inhabitant of Carolina by the charter; that acts of conformity, with penalties annexed to them, have in general proved destructive to the cause they were intended to promote, and were utterly inconsistent with Protestant principles; and therefore that these bills, so unpopular and oppressive in Carolina, ought to be repealed, as contrary to sound policy and religious freedom. The majority of the proprietors, however, did not view them in this light, and the debate ran high between them. At length the palatine, equally tyrannical as bigoted, put an end to the dispute, by telling Mr. Archdale: "Sir, you are of one opinion, I am of another; our lives may not be long enough to end the controversy. I am for the bills, and this is the party that I will head and support." In consequence of which the acts were ratified by four proprietors, and the following letter was sent to Sir Nathaniel Johnson: "Sir, the great and pious work which you have gone through with such unwearied and steady zeal, for the honour and worship of Almighty God, we have also finally perfected on our

part; and our ratification of that act for erecting churches, &c. together with duplicates of all other despatches, we have forwarded to you by Captain Flavel."

The Episcopal party having now got their favourite form of divine worship established by law in Carolina, began to erect churches in such situations as were most centrical and convenient for the settlers; and, to supply them with clergymen, application was made to the society in England for the propagation of the Gospel.* The dissenters, despairing of all hopes of redress from the proprietors, became greatly discouraged, and could not brook the thoughts of being again subjected to the same troubles and miseries which had compelled them to leave their native country. Some were for transporting their families and effects immediately to Pennsylvania, in order to sit down under Penn's free and indulgent government; others proposed an application to the house of lords in England, praying that august body to commiserate their distress, and intercede with her Majesty for their relief. For this purpose a petition was drawn up, and carried over by Joseph Boone to England. Several merchants in London, after Boone's arrival, being convinced of the illegal means by which those grievous acts were brought to pass, and of their pernicious consequence to trade, joined the petitioners.† Accordingly, about the beginning of the year 1706, the following petition was presented to the house of lords: setting forth, "That when the province of Carolina was granted to the proprietors, for the better peopling of it, express provision was made in the charter for a toleration and indulgence of all Christians in the free exercise of their religion; that, in the fundamental constitutions, agreed to be the form of government by the

* To the great honour of this society, it refused to send any ministers to Carolina, until the clause relating to lay-commissioners was annulled. See Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1. p. 492.

† To this petition were subscribed some of the most distinguished names of England, among which was that of Prior, the poet.

proprietors, there was also express provision made, that no person should be disturbed for any speculative opinion in religion, and that no person should, on account of religion, be excluded from being a member of the general assembly, or from any other office in the civil administration: That the said charter, being given soon after the happy restoration of King Charles II. and re-establishment of the church of England by the act of uniformity, many of the subjects of the kingdom who were so unhappy as to have some scruples about conforming to the rites of the said church, did transplant themselves and families into Carolina; by means whereof the greatest part of the inhabitants there were Protestant dissenters from the church of England, and through the equality and freedom of the said fundamental constitutions, all the inhabitants of the colony lived in peace, and even the ministers of the church of England had support from Protestant dissenters, and the number of inhabitants and the trade of the colony daily increased, to the great improvement of her majesty's customs, and the manifest advantage of the merchants and manufactures of the kingdom.

"But that, in the year 1703, when a new assembly was to be chosen, which, by the constitution, is chosen once in two years, the election was managed with very great partiality and injustice, and all sorts of people, even aliens, Jews, servants, common sailors and negroes, were admitted to vote at elections: That, in the said assembly, an act was passed to incapacitate every person from being a member of any general assembly that should be chosen for the time to come, unless he had taken the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites of the church of England; whereby all Protestant dissenters are made incapable of being in the said assembly; and yet, by the same act, all persons who shall take an oath that they have not received the sacrament in any dissenting congregation for one year past, though they have not received it in the church of England, are made capable of sitting in the said assembly: That this act was passed in an illegal manner, by the

governor calling the assembly to meet the 26th of April, when it then stood prorogued to the 10th of May following: that it hath been ratified by the lords proprietors in England, who refused to hear what could be offered against it, and contrary to the petition of one hundred and seventy of the chief inhabitants of the colony, and of several eminent merchants trading hither, though the commons of the same assembly quickly after passed another bill to repeal it, which the upper house rejected, and the governor dissolved the house.

"That the ecclesiastical government of the colony is under the bishop of London; but the governor and his adherents have at last done what the latter often threatened to do, totally abolished it: for the same assembly have passed an act, whereby twenty lay-persons, therein named, are made a corporation for the exercise of several exorbitant powers, to the great injury and oppression of the people in general, and for the exercise of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with absolute power to deprive any minister of the church of England of his benefice, not only for immorality but even for imprudence, or incurable prejudices between such minister and his parish; and the only minister of the church established in the colony, Mr. Edward Marston, hath already been cited before their board, which the inhabitants of the province take to be an high ecclesiastical commission-court, destructive to the very being and essence of the church of England, and to be held in the utmost detestation and abhorrence by every man that is not an enemy to our constitution in church and state.

"That the said grievances daily increasing, your petitioner, Joseph Boone, is now sent by many principal inhabitants and traders of the colony, to represent the languishing and dangerous situation of it to the lords proprietors; but his application to them has hitherto had no effect: that the ruin of the colony would be to the great disadvantage of the trade of this kingdom, to the apparent prejudice of her Majesty's customs, and the great benefit of

the French, who watch all opportunities to improve their own settlements in those parts of America."

After reading this petition in the house of lords, the palatine desired to be heard by his council, which was granted, and the further consideration of the matter was postponed for one week. Then having heard what Lord Granville had to offer in his behalf, the lords agreed to address her Majesty in favour of the distressed petitioners of Carolina. They declared, that, after having fully and maturely weighed the nature of the two acts passed in Carolina, they found themselves obliged in duty to her Majesty, and in justice to her subjects, (who, by the express words of the charter, were declared to be the liege people of the crown of England, and to have a right to all the liberties, franchises, and privileges of Englishmen,) to come to the following resolutions: *First*, "that it is the opinion of this house, that the act of assembly in Carolina, lately passed there, signed and sealed by John Lord Granville, for himself, Lord Carteret, and Lord Craven, and by Sir John Colleton, four of the proprietors of that province, in order to the ratifying of it, entitled, an act for the establishment of religious worship in the province according to the church of England, &c., so far forth as the same relates to the establishing a commission for the displacing of rectors and ministers of the churches there, is not warranted by the charter granted to the proprietors, as being not consonant to reason, repugnant to the laws of the realm, and destructive to the constitution of the church of England. *Secondly*, that it is the opinion of this house, that the act of assembly in Carolina, entitled, an act for the more effectual preservation of the government of the province, by requiring all persons that shall hereafter be chosen members of the commons house of assembly, and sit in the same, to take the oath and subscribe the declaration appointed by this act, and to conform to the religious worship in this province according to the church of England, and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the

rites and usage of the said church, &c., is founded on falsity in matter of fact, is repugnant to the laws of England, contrary to the charter of the proprietors, is an encouragement to atheism and irreligion, destructive to trade, and tends to the depopulation and ruin of the province."*

After which resolutions the house addressed her Majesty in the following words: "We your Majesty's dutiful subjects, having thus humbly presented our opinion of these acts, we beseech your Majesty to use the most effectual methods to deliver the said province from the arbitrary oppressions under which it now lies, and to order the authors thereof to be prosecuted according to law; at the same time we represent to your Majesty, how much the powers given by the crown have been abused by some of your subjects, justice requires us to acquaint your Majesty, that some of the proprietors absolutely refused to join in the ratification of these acts. We humbly beg permission to inform your Majesty, that other great injustices and oppressions are complained of in the petition; but the nature of the fact requiring a long examination, it was not possible for the house to find time for, so near the conclusion of the session; and therefore we presume with all duty to lay the petition itself before your Majesty, at the same time we present our address. We cannot doubt but your Majesty, who from the beginning of your reign has shown so great a concern and tenderness for all your subjects, will extend your compassion for those distressed people, who have the misfortune to be at so great a distance from your royal person, and not so immediately under your gentle administration. Your Majesty is fully sensible of what great consequence the

* Bold as this language is, it has nevertheless proved true in its application to all those countries, where religious oppression has existed. Does it not appear incredible, that the nation which, more than a century ago, could apply these liberal sentiments to its colonies, should become so blinded to its own interest, as to suffer the same disqualifying laws of which the colonists complained, to disgrace its statute book up to the present time.

plantations are to the crown of England, and to the trade of your subjects, and therefore we rest assured, that as your Majesty will have them all under your royal care, so, in particular, you will be graciously pleased to find out and prosecute the most effectual means for the relief of the province of Carolina."

To which address Queen Anne returned the following answer: "I thank the house for laying these matters so plainly before me: I am sensible of what great consequence the plantations are to England, and will do all in my power to relieve my subjects in Carolina, and protect them in their just rights." But as it likewise appeared that some of the proprietors themselves had refused to approve of the acts, the matter was farther referred to the lords of trade and plantations; who, after examination, found that all the charges brought against the provincial government and the proprietors were well grounded; and represented farther to her Majesty, that the making of such laws was an abuse of the powers granted to the proprietors by the charter, and will be a forfeiture of it, and humbly begged that she would be pleased to give directions for reassuming the same into her Majesty's hands, by a *scire facias* in the court of Queen's Bench. The Queen approved of their representation, and after declaring the laws null and void, for the effectual proceeding against the charter by way *quo warranto*, ordered her attorney and solicitor-general to inform themselves fully concerning what may be most effectual for accomplishing the same, that she might take the government of the colony, so much abused by others, into her own hands, for the better protection of her distressed subjects. Here, however, the matter was dropped for the present, and no farther steps were taken against the charter of the proprietors, or for the relief of the people.

In the mean time the distant colonists, though they had heard nothing of what had passed in England relating to those grievous acts, became daily more sensible of their oppressive nature and pernicious consequence. Several

settlers had left the country on account of them, and moved to Pennsylvania. Archibald Stobo, a Presbyterian minister in Charlestown, who had warmly opposed this establishment from the beginning, had also convinced many who remained of the severities and hardships the dissenters in England had suffered from the rigors of the Episcopal government. Several circumstances proved favourable to Stobo's opposition; he possessed those talents which render a minister conspicuous and respected, and the people that party zeal which becomes violent from ill usage and persecution. To his treasures of knowledge and excellent capacity for instruction, he added uncommon activity and diligence in the discharge of the various duties of his sacred function. He had a natural aversion from the Episcopal jurisdiction, and no minister of the colony had engrossed so universally the public favour and esteem. The governor and his adherents found it necessary to sow the seeds of division among his followers, and, from maxims of policy, to magnify his failings, in order to ruin his great power and influence.

But the Presbyterian party were not the only malecontents during these strange and unwarrantable proceedings of the legislature. Many wise and religious men of all denominations condemned them, as grievous and impolitic. They considered differences in religious opinion as improper objects of temporal punishment, and that magistrates had no business with them, unless they occasion danger and disturbance to the state. They looked upon religion as a personal affair, which lies between God and a man's conscience, and that it was the prerogative of the Supreme Being to judge of men's hearts, as he alone was capable of forming a right judgment. In such a case, doubtless every man had a right to judge and choose for himself, and he alone, and not the church, must at last be accountable to God for the choice. In every country this is reasonable; but in Protestant countries it is the fundamental principle on which they ground their right of protesting against the rules and errors of any particular church. For which

reason judicious men in Carolina opposed the acts of assembly, as unreasonable in themselves, repugnant to the principles of Protestants, and robbing many of the colonists of their most valuable privileges, for their difference in religious opinion. Even the society for propagating the gospel disapproved of them, and, at a meeting in St. Paul's church, resolved not to send any missionaries to Carolina, until the clause relating to lay-commissioners was annulled. So that all impartial men, in some measure, condemned the acts, and seemed to detest both the factious men who framed them, and the method by which they had been promoted in the province.

At length from these domestic troubles the attention of the people was drawn off, and turned towards a more important object, their common defence against foreign enemies. The war between Great Britain and France and Spain still raged in Europe. The governor received advice of a project framed for invading Carolina, and had instructions to put the country in the best posture of defence. The Spaniards pretended a right to it on the foot of prior discovery, considering it as a part of Florida, and had now determined by force of arms to assert their right.* Sir Nathaniel Johnson, as a military commander, was well qualified for his duty, and formed to shine in a more conspicuous manner in that line than in any other. No sooner had he received intelligence of the designs of his enemy, than he set all hands to work upon the fortifications, appointed a number of gunners to each bastion, and held frequent musters to train the men to the use of arms. A storehouse was prepared, and a quantity of ammunition laid up in it, to be ready on the first emergency. A small fort, called Fort Johnson, was erected on James's Island, and several great guns mounted on it. Trenches were cast up on White Point, and other places where they were thought necessary.

* Regarding the right of France and Spain to Carolina, see the Introduction.

A guard was stationed on Sullivan's island, with orders to kindle a number of fires opposite to the town, equal to the number of ships they might spy on the coast. In short, such prudent regulations were made, as to prevent any surprise from an enemy, and at what time soever they might come, to give them as warm a reception as possible.

Few months had elapsed before they found the usefulness and necessity of these wise precautions. Carolina was at this juncture the southern frontier of the British empire in America. The colony, though it had acquired some degree of strength, was yet in a feeble state to resist an enemy of force and enterprize. From its situation there was reason to apprehend that the French and Spaniards would attack it, as it would fall an easier conquest than the more populous northern settlements. Before this time a plan had been concerted at the Havanna for invading it. Mons. le Feboure, captain of a French frigate, together with four more armed sloops, encouraged and assisted by the Spanish governor of that island, had already set sail for Charlestown. To facilitate the conquest of the province, he had directions to touch at Augustine, and carry from thence such a force as he judged adequate to the enterprise. Upon his arrival at Augustine, he had intelligence of an epidemical distemper which raged at Charlestown, and had swept off a vast number of inhabitants. This animated him to proceed with greater expedition. Imagining the town to be in a weak and defenceless state, and that the militia in the country would be averse from coming nigh it through fear of the fatal infection, he took on board a considerable number of forces at Augustine, and made all the sail he could for Carolina.

Before this time a Dutch privateer, formerly belonging to New York, by order of the governor of Carolina, had been refitted at Charlestown for cruising on the coast. The command had been given to Captain Stool, who was sent out on purpose to intercept the supplies regularly sent to Augustine from the Havanna. After being out a few days he re-

turned, and brought advice of having engaged a French sloop off the bar of Augustine; but upon seeing four ships more advancing to her assistance, he thought proper to make all the sail he could for Charlestown, and that he narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. Scarcely had he delivered the news, when five separate smokes appeared on Sullivan's island, as a signal to the town that the same number of ships were observed on the coast.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson being at that time at his plantation, several miles from town, Lieutenant Colonel William Rhett, commanding officer of the militia, immediately ordered the drums to beat, and the whole inhabitants to be put under arms. A messenger was despatched with the news to the governor, and letters to all the captains of the militia in the country, to fire their alarm guns, raise their companies, and with all possible expedition march to the assistance of the town.

In the evening the enemy's fleet came the length of Charlestown bar; but as the passage was intricate and dangerous to strangers, they did not think it prudent to venture over it while the darkness of the night approached, and therefore hovered on the coast all night within sight of land. Early next morning the watchmen stationed on Sullivan's island observed them a little to the southward of the bar, manning their galleys and boats, as if they intended to land on James's island; but there having come to an anchor, they employed their boats all that day in sounding the south bar: which delay was of great service to the Carolineans, as it afforded time for the militia in the country to march to town.

The same day Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the governor, came to Charlestown, and found the inhabitants in great consternation; but he being a man of courage, and skilled in the arts of war, his presence inspired them with fresh confidence and resolution. He proclaimed the martial law at the head of the militia, and gave the necessary orders: he sent to the Indian tribes in alliance with the colony, and brought a number of them to his assistance. As the contagious dis-

temper still raged in Charlestown, the governor judged it imprudent to expose his men to the dangerous infection, unless necessity required it, and therefore held his head-quarters about half a mile distant from town. In the evening a troop of horse, commanded by Captain George Logan, and two companies of foot, under the command of Major George Broughton, reached the capital, and kept diligent watch during the night. The next morning a company from James's island, under the command of Captain Drake, another from Wando, under Captain Fenwick, and five more commanded by Captains Cantey, Lynch, Hearn, Longbois, and Seabrook, joined the militia of the town; so that the whole force of the province, with the governor at their head, was now collected together in one place.

The day following, the enemy's four ships and a galley came over the bar, with all their boats out for landing their men, and stood directly for the town, having the advantages of a fair wind and strong tide. When they had advanced so far up the river as to discover the fortifications, they cast anchor a little above Sullivan's island. The governor, observing the enemy approaching towards the town, marched his men into it to receive them; but finding they had stopped by the way, he had time to call a council of war, in which it was agreed to put some great guns on board of such ships as were in the harbour, and employ the gallant sailors in their own way, for the better defence of the town. William Rhett, a man possessed of considerable conduct and spirit, received a commission to be vice-admiral of this little fleet, and hoisted his flag on board of the Crown galley.

The enemy observing them employed in making all possible preparations for resistance, sent up a flag of truce to the governor, to summon him to surrender. George Evans, who commanded Granville bastion, received their messenger at his landing from the boat, and conducted him blindfolded into the fort, until the governor was in readiness to receive him. In the mean time the governor, having drawn up his men in such a manner as to make them appear to

the greatest advantage, received the French officer at their head; and having first shown him one fort full of men, he then conducted him by a different route to another, giving the same men time to go by a shorter way, and be drawn up beforehand: and there, having given him a view of his strength, he demanded the purport of his message. The officer told him, that he was sent by Mons. le Feboure, admiral of the French fleet, to demand a surrender of the town and country, and their persons prisoners of war; and that his orders allowed him no more than one hour for an answer. Governor Johnson replied, that there was no occasion for one minute to answer that message: he told him, he held the town and country for the Queen of England: that he could depend on his men, who would sooner die than surrender themselves prisoners of war; that he was resolved to defend the country to the last drop of his blood against the boldest invader, and he might go when he pleased and acquaint Mons. le Feboure with his resolution.

The day following a party of the enemy went ashore on James's Island, and burnt the houses on a plantation by the river side. Another party, consisting of a hundred and sixty men, landed on the opposite side of the river, and burnt two vessels in Dearsby's Creek, and set fire to his storehouse. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, from such beginnings perceiving that they were determined to carry fire and sword wherever they went, doubled his diligence for the defence of the town. He ordered Captain Drake and his company, with a small party of Indians, to James's Island, to defend their properties on that side. Drake marched against them, but before he could bring up his men, the Indians, whom he could keep under no control, and who ran through the woods with their usual impetuosity, had driven the invaders to their boats. Then advice was brought to town, that the party who landed on Wando Neck had killed a number of hogs and cattle, and were feasting on the plunder. To prevent their farther progress into the country, and give them a check if possible, Captain Cantey, with a hundred

chosen men, was ordered to pass the river privately in the night, and watch their motions. Before break of day the captain came up with them, and finding them in a state of security, with fires lighted around them, surrounded and surprised them with a sharp fire from every quarter; in consequence of which, they were put in confusion and fled, and a considerable part being killed, wounded, and drowned, the remainder surrendered prisoners of war.

Having by this blow considerably weakened the force of the enemy, and being encouraged and animated by their success at land, the Carolineans determined also to try their fortune by sea. Accordingly William Rhett set sail with his fleet of six small ships, and proceeded down the river to the place where the enemy rode at anchor; but the French perceiving this fleet standing towards them, in great haste weighed anchor and sailed over the bar. For some days nothing more was heard of them; but, to make sure, the governor ordered Captain Watson of the Sea-Flower out to sea, to examine whether or not the coast was clear. The captain returned without seeing the enemy, but observing some men on shore whom they had left behind, he took them on board and brought them to town. These men assured the governor that the French were gone. In consequence of which, orders were given for the martial law to cease, and the inhabitants began to rejoice at their happy deliverance.

However, before night, certain advice was brought that a ship of force was seen in Sewee Bay, and that a number of armed men had landed from her at that place. Upon examination of the prisoners, the governor found that the French expected a ship of war, with Mons. Arbuset their general and about two hundred men more to their assistance. The governor ordered Captain Fenwick to pass the river, and march against them by land; while Rhett, with the Dutch privateer and a Bermuda sloop armed, sailed round by sea, with orders to meet him at Sewee Bay. Captain Fenwick came up with the enemy, and briskly charged

them, who, though advantageously posted, after a few volleys gave way, and retreated to their ship; and soon after Rhett coming to his assistance, the French ship struck without firing a shot. Rhett, being obliged by contrary winds to remain all that day in Sewee Bay, despatched John Barnwell, a volunteer, to the governor, with an account of their success; and next morning, the wind changing, he returned to Charlestown with his prize, and about ninety prisoners.

Thus ended Mons. le Feboure's invasion of Carolina, little to his own honour as a commander, or to the credit and courage of his men. It is probable he expected to find the province in a weak and defenceless situation, and that the governor would instantly surrender on his appearance before the town. But he was deceived, as many commanders have been who entertain a despicable opinion of their enemy. The governor was a man of approved courage and conduct; the militia undertook the various little enterprizes with the spirit of men who had not only the honour of the province, but also their whole properties at stake, and amazing success crowned their endeavours. Out of eight hundred men who came against this little colony, near three hundred were killed and taken prisoners; among the latter were Mons. Arbuset, their commander in chief by land, with several sea officers, who together offered ten thousand pieces of eight for their ransom. On the other hand, the loss sustained by the provincial militia was incredibly small. The governor publicly thanked them for the unanimity and courage they had shown in repelling the invaders: and received from the proprietors soon after the following letter. "We heartily congratulate you on your great and happy success against the French and Spaniards; and for your eminent courage and conduct in the defence and preservation of our province, we return you our thanks, and assure you, that we shall always retain a just sense of your merit, and will take all opportunities to reward your signal services."

About this time the long-projected union between Eng-

land and Scotland took place in Britain, which was attended, as might have been expected, with the most interesting and happy consequences to both kingdoms. God and nature had joined the two together, and of course all differences and divisions subsisting between them, while they acknowledged the same sovereign, were impolitic and absurd. Unity of affection and interest unquestionably constituted the strength of the island, and could alone enable it to oppose foreign enemies with vigour and success. Among the number of articles which composed this important and beneficial treaty, it was agreed, "That all the subjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain, should, from and after this union, have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation to and from any port or place in the said united kingdom, and the dominions and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there should be a communication of all rights, privileges and advantages which do or may belong to the subjects of either kingdom, except where it is otherwise expressly agreed in these articles." Unfortunately, however, two modes of religious worship were established in the nation, which served to perpetuate differences among the more stiff and rigid partisans of both the Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches. A division in the ecclesiastical establishment was as improper and unreasonable as a disunion in the nation. With respect to the essential principles and doctrines of religion, they are the same in both churches, and the difference between them lies in the modes of worship and government, in usages, vestments, forms and ceremonies, matters of little consequence with regard to religion. Both modes of worship and government have their advantages and disadvantages, and had delegates from both churches met at this juncture, and yielded a little on both sides, for the sake of mutual harmony, and uniformity, such compliance might have been attended with happy effects. But the infelicity of the times, and narrow sentiments of the people, not admitting of this expedient, it was agreed that the Episcopalian government was only to ex-

tend to the colonies, and be considered as the establishment in them. As the greatest part of emigrants to America carried along with them prejudices against this establishment, and discovered a tendency towards a republican form of church-government, it is remarkable that this disaffection has continued, and in process of time been acquiring strength, insomuch that the hands of government, engaged in support of the established church, have often been weakened by it, and rendered unable to answer the ends of their appointment.

About this time the society incorporated by King William, having received large benefactions for the purpose of propagating the gospel, began to exert themselves for sending over, and maintaining missionaries in the plantations. As some colonies were totally destitute of the means of instruction, and others ill provided with ministers, and unable to support them, the society considered the British subjects as the primary objects of their charity.* To prevent the influence of Roman Catholic missionaries among the heathens, was a secondary end in view with this charitable corporation, who were also to improve every favourable opportunity for the instruction and conversion of negroes and Indians.† While a number of missionaries were ordained for

* When the proprietors of Carolina first undertook to settle that colony, they declared in their charter, that they were induced to do so, from their great zeal to propagate the Christian faith among the Indian tribes of America. At no time, however, during their government of the colony, did they do any thing to fulfil their pledge. Until the "Society for the propagation of the Gospel," sent out a missionary to South Carolina in 1701, that state had been entirely without a minister: and Oldmixon tells us, that the only instruction which the Indians received prior to that time, was from a French dancing master who settled in Craven county, and taught the natives to dance and play upon the lute. See Humphrey's account of the Society for the Prop. Gos. in For. Parts, p. 25.

† The words of the charter are these:—"Whereas, we are credibly informed that in many of our plantations, colonies and factories, beyond the seas, belonging to our kingdom of England, the provision for ministers is very mean, and many others of our said plantations, colonies and factories,

the northern colonies, Samuel Thomas was sent out to Carolina for the instruction of the Yamassee Indians; and to supply the different parishes, several more missionaries were on the passage to the province. The society had written to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, expressing their zeal for the interest of religion, and earnest desire for spreading the knowledge of the gospel among the inhabitants of the British colonies, and their hopes of his concurrence towards the accomplishment of their excellent design. Upon the receipt of which the governor summoned a meeting of his council, and sent an answer to the corporation in the following words: "We could not omit this opportunity of testifying the grateful sense we have of your most noble Christian charity to our poor infant church in this province, expressed by the generous encouragement you have been pleased to give to those who are coming missionaries, the account of which we have just now received by our worthy friend and minister Mr. Thomas, who, to our great satisfaction, is now arrived. The extraordinary hurry we are in, occasioned by the late invasion attempted by the French and Spaniards, from whom God hath miraculously delivered us, hath prevented our receiving a particular account from Mr. Thomas of your bounty, and also hath not given us leisure to view your missionaries' instructions, either in regard to what re-

are wholly destitute and unprovided of a maintainance for ministers and the public worship of God, and for lack of support and maintainance for such, many of our loving subjects do want the administration of God's word and sacrament, and seem to be abandoned to *Atheism* and *Infidelity*, and also for want of learned and *orthodox* ministers to instruct our said loving subjects in the principles of true religion, divers *Romish Priests* and *Jesuits* are the more encouraged to pervert and draw over our said loving subjects to *Popish superstition* and *Idolatry*,"&c. See Humphreys, p. 16. On the part of the Catholics, it has been justly boasted, that while these fears were entertained of their influence, Maryland, in which their religion predominated, was at that time enjoying a more liberal system of laws, than any of the English colonies. In reply to this, it may be urged, that the utmost superstition and ignorance prevailed amongst the Spanish Catholics of Florida; but may not those evils have been created, as much by the state policy of Spain, as by the exertions of the Popish clergy?

lates to them or to ourselves: but we shall take speedy care to give them all due encouragement, and the venerable society the utmost satisfaction. There is nothing so dear to us as our holy religion, and the interest of the established church, in which we have been happily educated; we therefore devoutly adore God's Providence in bringing, and heartily thank your society in encouraging, so many missionaries to come among us. We promise your honourable society, it shall be our daily study to encourage their pious labours, to protect their persons, to revere their authority, to improve by their ministerial instructions, and, as soon as possible, to enlarge their annual salaries. When we have placed your missionaries in their several parishes according to your directions, and received from them an account of your noble benefaction of books for each parish, we shall then write more particular and full. In the mean time, we beg your honourable society to accept of our hearty gratitude, and be assured of our sincere endeavour to concur with you in the noble design of propagating Christ's holy religion."

Soon after the missionaries arrived, and were settled in their respective parishes, Edward Marston, minister at Charlestown, died, and Mr. Thomas, whom the governor intended for his successor, did not long survive him: in consequence of whose death, the governor and council applied by letters to the society, requesting farther supplies, particularly a learned and prudent man to take the charge of the capital. The Archbishop of Dublin recommended Gideon Johnston to them as a person for whose sobriety, diligence, and ability, he dared to be answerable, and doubted not but he would execute the duty required in such a manner as to merit the approbation of every one with whom he should be concerned. Accordingly, Mr. Johnson, being made commissary to the Bishop of London for the province of Carolina, and having fifty pounds a-year settled on him from the society, embarked for Charlestown. On his arrival he had almost lost his life in going ashore; the ship in which he sailed being obliged to come to an

anchor off the bar to wait the return of the tide, and Mr. Johnson, with several more passengers, being impatient to get to land, went on board of the small boat to go up to the town; but a sudden gust of wind arising, drove the boat upon a sand bank, where they lay two days, almost perishing with hunger and thirst, when some persons accidentally discovered and relieved them.

Mr. Johnson was not the only person that shared of the charitable fund; for five more ministers were settled in the country, to each of whom an allowance of fifty pounds a-year, besides their provincial salary, was given by this incorporated society. Two thousand volumes of books were also sent to be distributed among the people, by these missionaries, for their private use and instruction. Justice requires a relation of these facts for the honour of that society, who supplied the province with instructors at this early period, when it was poor in itself, and stood so much in need of their generous assistance. As the church of England, however, continued to be considered as the established religion of the province; and as all the ministers sent out by this society were of that persuasion, dissenters, who in general are not the most charitable in their judgments with regard to the conduct of their neighbours, and who perhaps contributed, like many others, towards raising this fund, concluded that the society had the propagation of Episcopacy more in their eye than that of Christianity. But certainly it cannot be denied, that the members of this corporation, who not only contributed largely, but were also at such pains in collecting a fund for this laudable end, were the proper judges in what manner it should be applied. Charity obliges us to believe, that this society, whose design was so benevolent, employed their money in such a way as they judged would be most agreeable to the intentions of those who gave it, and most useful for the instruction and happiness of their fellow-creatures: yet mankind, in such cases, are apt to be forward in advancing their opin-

ions with regard to the conduct of such public managers, and, as they stand affected themselves, to praise or condemn them.

About the close of the year 1707, Lord Granville, the palatine, died, and was succeeded in that high dignity by William Lord Craven. The death of that nobleman, by whose instruction and encouragement the several violent steps for the establishment and support of the church of England in Carolina had been taken, was now likely to produce some change in the future state of public affairs. Though the governor and his friends still maintained a majority in the house of assembly, yet, from the number and temper of dissenters, they were not without some suspicions of seeing the fabric, which they had with such uncommon industry been erecting, totally overturned. While many Episcopalians in England were terrified with the prospects of danger to their church, the Carolineans took the alarm, and passed an act for its security in that province. The preamble of this act runs thus: "Whereas the church of England has of late been so happily established among us, fearing that by the succession of a new governor this church may be either undermined or wholly subverted, to prevent which calamity falling upon us, be it enacted, that this present assembly shall continue to sit two years, and for the time and term of eighteen months after the change of government, whether by the death of the present governor, or the succession of another in his time." Whether the church must not have been in great danger when men were obliged to take such an extraordinary measure for its security, we leave it to the world to judge.

About the end of the year 1708, Colonel Edward Tynte received a commission from Lord Craven, investing him with the government of the colony. About the same time Charles Craven, brother to the palatine, was made secretary to the province. During the time Sir Nathaniel Johnson had governed the country, it had not only been threatened

with a formidable invasion, but also torn to pieces with factions and divisions, which had much retarded its progress and improvement. Great confusion among the people had been occasioned by the violent stretch of power in favour of an ecclesiastical establishment. The new palatine, sensible of those things, instructed Governor Tynte to adopt such healing measures as would be most conducive to the welfare of the settlement. Soon after his arrival he received a letter from the proprietors to the following effect: "We hope by this time you have entered upon your government of our province of Carolina, and therefore we earnestly require your endeavours to reconcile the minds of the inhabitants to each other, that the name of parties, if any yet remains among them, may be utterly extinguished: for we can by no means doubt, but their unanimous concurrence with our endeavours for their prosperity, will most effectually render Carolina as flourishing a colony as any in America." The late palatine, from a mixture of spiritual and political pride, despised all dissenters, as the enemies of both the hierarchy and monarchy, and believed the state could only be secure, while the civil authority was lodged in the hands of high-churchmen. Lord Craven possessed not the same proud and intolerant spirit, and thought those Carolineans, who maintained liberty of conscience, merited greater indulgences from them; and, though a friend to the church of England, he always was doubtful whether the minds of the people were ripe for the introduction of that establishment. He therefore urged lenity and toleration, which in general have been productive of peace and union, while rigour and persecution have seldom failed to excite discord and promote superstition in every community.

The expenses incurred by the French invasion, though it terminated much to the honour of the Carolineans, fell heavy on the colony, still in a poor and languishing condition. No taxes as yet had been laid on real or personal estates: the revenues of the colony were all raised by

duties laid on spirituous liquors, sugar, molasses, and a few other articles imported; and on deer-skins and furs exported. The amount of these several duties was applied towards defraying the charges of government, such as raising and repairing fortifications, paying the governor's salary, maintaining garrisons, providing military stores, and salaries to ten ministers of the church of England, and sinking bills of credit stamped for answering the extraordinary expenses of the province. Eight thousand pounds had been issued for defraying the public expenses occasioned by the French invasion; and the act laying an imposition on furs, skins, and liquors, was continued, for the purpose of cancelling these bills of credit. From this time forward there was a gradual rise in exchange and produce, owing, as many thought, to the emission and establishment of paper currency in the province. Before this period, French and Spanish gold and silver, brought into the country by pirates, privateers, and the over-balance of trade with the West Indies, answered all the purposes of internal commerce, and very little English coin was circulating in the country. However, soon after this emission, fifty *per cent.* advance was given by the merchants for what English money there was; that is to say, for one hundred pounds English coin, they gave one hundred and fifty pounds paper currency of Carolina.

A bloody war still continued between England and France in Europe, and the success which had attended an expedition against Acadia, had encouraged the British administration to enter on bolder undertakings in America. The French in Canada were numerous and strong, and Lord Godolphin, convinced of the necessity of maintaining a superiority over them, formed a design of attacking Quebec, and striking such a blow in that quarter as might render his administration distinguished. He sent for Sir Hovenden Walker, rear-admiral of the white, and after holding a private consultation with him respecting the enterprise,

immediately began to make preparations for it. Six thousand men were drawn from the army in Flanders, and the command of them was given to General Hill. Eleven ships of the line, one frigate, and two bomb-ships, were fitted out: transports were provided, on board of which the army embarked and sailed for Boston in New England. They arrived there on the 24th of June 1711, but by no means met with that zeal and ardour for the expedition among the people of New England that might have been expected, considering its interesting consequence with respect to them. Colonel Francis Nicolson, who had been successful in Acadia the year before, hastened to Boston, and first used his utmost endeavours to forward the expedition, and then marched by land, with a body of white men and Indians, against Montreal. Before Sir Hovenden Walker had procured every thing requisite to his expedition, the season of the year was too far advanced. The navigation up the river St. Lawrence was hazardous, and none but unskilful pilots could be found. A sudden blow must necessarily be struck, or otherwise, as the frosty season begins there so early, the fleet might find it difficult to return down the river. When they set sail, they had every thing to dread from their own ignorance and a dangerous navigation. In proceeding up the river they found uncertain and rapid currents, and met with dark and foggy weather: in consequence of which eight transports ran upon a rock, and almost nine hundred men perished. This unhappy accident cast a damp upon the spirits of the army, and their plan was frustrated. In a council of war it was judged imprudent and impracticable to carry large ships up such a river without the most skilful pilots, and therefore they returned to New England. General Francis Nicolson having heard of the miscarriage of the expedition upon the river, retreated also from Lake George, and no more attempts were made for many years against the French settlements in Canada.

In the year following, the French planted a colony at the mouth of the great river Mississippi. Lewis the XIVth thought proper to grant a territory of vast extent in that quarter to Secretary Crozat, by which he evidently encroached on lands belonging to the proprietors of South Carolina. Though the Carolineans had not a little to fear from a settlement in such a situation, yet Crozat was allowed to take peaceable possession, without any complaints from the proprietors, or opposition from the British government. From this period a new competitor for the affection and interest of Indian nations arose, more active and enterprising than the Spaniards, whose motions the Carolineans had good reason to watch with a jealous and vigilant eye.

About the same time application was made to the proprietors for lands in Carolina, by a number of palatines harassed in Germany by the calamities of a tedious war, and reduced to circumstances of great indigence and misery.* The proprietors wisely judging, that by such acquisitions the value of their lands would increase, and the strength of their settlement would be promoted, determined to give every possible encouragement to such emigrants. Ships were provided for their transportation. Instructions were sent to Governor Tynte to allow a hundred acres of land for every man, woman, and child, free of quit-rents for the first ten years; but, at the expiration of that term, to pay one penny *per* acre annual rent for ever, according to the usages and customs of the province. Upon their arrival Governor Tynte granted them lands in North Carolina, where they settled, and flattered themselves with having found in the hideous

* This German colony was from Heidelberg, and its vicinity on the Rhine. They were for the most part German Lutherans, who, flying from the oppressive government of a Catholic elector at home, under an invitation of Queen Anne, in 1708, came over to England, and thence emigrated to North Carolina, where they made a settlement, between the Neuse and Cape Fear rivers. A very full and accurate account of this colony, is to be found in Williamson's No. Car., Vol. 1. p. 178—186.

wilderness a happy retreat from the storms and desolations of war raging in Europe.

However, like many others, Governor Tynte had scarcely time to learn the real state of the country, in order to establish proper regulations in it, before he died. After his death, a competition arose in the council about the succession. One party declared for Robert Gibbes, and another for Thomas Broughton. Gibbes, however, carried his election, and for a little while stood at the head of the colony.*

* Dr. Ramsay, relying upon an old manuscript of Thomas Lamboll, who died in South Carolina, 1775, aged 80 years, gives the following interesting account of this contested election.

"When Tynte died there remained only three deputies of the lords proprietors. Robert Gibbes, one of these three, was chosen and proclaimed governor; but by the sudden death of Mr. Turbevil, one of the three deputies, who in the morning of the election day had voted for Colonel Broughton, another of the three deputies, but upon adjournment to the afternoon changed his mind and voted for Robert Gibbes, it was discovered that Robert Gibbes had obtained the said second vote of Turbevil by bribery. Colonel Broughton laid claim to the government, alleging Turbevil's primary and uncorrupted vote in his favour. Gibbes insisted on his right, as having added his own vote to Turbevil's and thereby obtained a majority; and in consequence thereof was proclaimed governor, and quietly settled in the administration. Each persisted in his claim. Many sided with Broughton, but more with Gibbes. Broughton drew together a number of armed men at his plantation, and proceeded to Charlestown. Gibbes having intelligence thereof, caused a general alarm to be fired and the militia to be raised. At the approach of Broughton's party to the walls and gates of Charlestown, Gibbes ordered the drawbridge, standing near the intersection of Broad and Meeting-streets, to be hauled up. After a short parley, Broughton's party asked admittance; Gibbes from within the walls inquired why they came armed in such a manner, and if they would own him for their governor? they answered, that they heard there was an alarm, and were come to make their appearance in Charlestown; but would not own him, the said Gibbes, to be their governor. He of course denied them entrance; whereupon many of them galloped round the walls towards Craven's bastion, to get entrance there; but being prevented, they soon returned to the drawbridge. By this time some of the inhabitants of the town, and many sailors appearing there in favour of Broughton, they proceeded to force a passage and let down the drawbridge. Gibbes' party opposed, but were not allowed to fire upon them. After blows and wounds were given and received, the sailors

During his time, we know nothing remarkable that happened. An act of assembly passed for appointing commissioners, empowering them to take subscriptions and collect public contributions for building a church at Charlestown. Water passages were carried southward to Port-Royal, for the ease and convenience of passengers by sea, and money was provided for building public bridges, and establishing ferries, for the accommodation of travellers by land.

But, as it appeared to the proprietors that bribery and corruption had been used by Robert Gibbes, to gain his election to the government, he was not permitted to continue long in that office; they forbade their receiver-general to

and men of Broughton's party prevailed so far as to lower down the drawbridge, over which they entered and proceeded to the watch-house in Broad-street. There, the two town companies of militia were posted under arms and with colours flying. When Broughton's party came near they halted, and one of them drew a paper out of his pocket, and began to read; but could not be heard, because of the noise made by the drums of the militia. Being balked, they marched towards Granville's bastion, and were escorted by the seamen on foot who were ready for any mischief. As they passed the front of the militia, whose guns were presented and cocked, one of the sailors catching at the ensign, tore it off the staff. On this provocation some of the militia, without any orders, fired their pieces, but nobody was hurt. Captain Brewton resolutely drew his sword, went up to the sailor who had committed the outrage, and demanded the torn ensign. Captain Evans, a considerable man of Broughton's party, alighted, and obliged the sailor to return it. Broughton's party continued their march for some time, and then proclaimed Broughton governor. After huzzaing, they approached the fort gate, and made a show of forcing it; but observing Captain Pawley with his pistol cocked, and many other gentlemen with their guns presented, and all forbidding them at their peril to attempt the gate, they retired to a tavern on the bay; before which they first caused their written paper or proclamation to be again read, and then dismounted. After much altercation, many reciprocal messages and answers, and the mediation of several peace-makers, the controversy was referred to the decision of the lords proprietors; and it was agreed that Colonel Gibbes should continue in the administration of government, until they determined which of the two should be obeyed as governor. Their determination was in favour of neither. The proprietors appointed Charles Craven, who then held their commission as secretary, to be governor. He was proclaimed in form, and took upon him the administration.

pay him any salary, and ordered the money due to be transmitted to Richard Shelton their secretary in England. A commission was sent out to Charles Craven, a man of great knowledge, courage and integrity, by his brother, investing him with the government of the colony. His council was composed of Thomas Broughton, Ralph Izard, Charles Hart, Samuel Eveleigh, and Arthur Middleton, &c.; all men of considerable property, and experience in provincial affairs. The assembly in his time was not elected, as formerly, in a riotous and tumultuary manner, but with the utmost harmony and regularity, and proceeded to their deliberations with great temper and mutual friendship. The governor had instructions to defend the province against the French and Spaniards, and for that purpose to form and cultivate the firmest friendship and alliance with the Indians; to promote fisheries and manufactures, which was certainly an absurd and ridiculous instruction; for while they had so much land, agriculture was evidently more profitable and beneficial to both the possessors and proprietors of the province. He was required to overlook the courts, and take special care that justice be equitably administered, and that no interruptions or delays attend the execution of the laws: he was ordered to employ eight men to sound Port-Royal river for the benefit of navigation, and to fix on the most convenient spot for building a town, with a harbour nigh it;* and to transmit all acts of assembly made from time to time to England, for the proprietors' approbation or disapprobation; and such other public matters as appeared to him of general concern and utility, he was required carefully to study and promote.

In the year 1712, after Governor Craven had assumed the management of the colony, a dangerous conspiracy was

* The town of Beaufort, on Port-Royal island, was probably built in pursuance of this order. Two years afterward, the settlement of this town was provided for by an act of the assembly. The town was called Beauford in honor of Prince Henry, duke of Beauford, lord palatine. See Trott's laws, art. Carolina; also, Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1. p. 508—516.

formed by the Indians of North Carolina against the poor settlers in that quarter. The cause of the quarrel we have not been able clearly to find out; probably they were offended at the encroachments made on their hunting lands. The powerful tribes of Indians called Corees, Tuscaroras, and several more, united and determined to murder or expel the European invaders. As usual, they carried on their bloody design with amazing cunning and profound secrecy. Their chief town they had in the first place surrounded with a wooden breast-work, for the security of their own families. Here the different tribes met together to the number of twelve hundred bowmen, and formed their horrid plot. From this place of rendezvous they sent out small parties, who entered the settlements, under the mask of friendship, by different roads. At the change of the full moon all of them had agreed to begin their murderous operations, on the same night. When that night came, they entered the planters' houses, demanded provisions, out of pretence were displeased with them, and then murdered men, women, and children, without mercy or distinction. To prevent the alarm spreading through the settlement, they ran like fierce and bloody tigers from house to house, spreading slaughter among the scattered families wherever they went. None of the colonists, during the fatal night, knew what had befallen their neighbours, until the barbarians had reached their own doors. About Roanocke one hundred and thirty-seven settlers fell a sacrifice to their savage fury the first night; among whom were a Swiss baron, and almost all the poor palatines who had lately come into the country. Some, however, who had hid themselves in the woods, having escaped, next morning gave the alarm to their neighbours, and prevented the total destruction of that colony. Every family had orders speedily to assemble at one place, and the militia, under arms, kept watch day and night around them, until the news of the sad disaster reached the province of South Carolina.

Happy was it for the distressed North Carolineans

Governor Craven lost no time in collecting and despatching a force to their assistance and relief. The assembly voted four thousand pounds for the service of the war. A body of militia, consisting of six hundred men, under the command of Colonel Barnwell, marched against the savages. Two hundred and eighteen Cherokees, under the command of Captains Harford and Turstons; seventy-nine Creeks, under Captain Hastings; forty-one Catabaws, under Captain Cantey, and twenty-eight Yamasses, under Captain Pierce, being furnished with arms, joined the Carolineans in this expedition. Hideous and dreadful, at this time, was that wilderness through which Colonel Barnwell had to march; and to get to North Carolina in time, for the relief of the people, the utmost expedition was requisite. In such a case it was not possible for his men to carry a sufficient quantity of provisions, together with arms and ammunition, along with them, or to have these things provided at different stages by the way. There was no road through the woods upon which either horses or carriages could conveniently pass; and his army had all manner of hardships and dangers from the climate, the wilderness, and the enemy, to encounter. In spite of every difficulty, Barnwell advanced against them, employing his Indian allies to hunt for provisions to his men by the way. At length, having come up with the savages, he attacked them, and being much better supplied with arms and ammunition than his enemy, he did great execution among them. In the first battle he killed three hundred Indians, and took about one hundred prisoners. After which the Tuscaroras retreated to their town, within a wooden breastwork; there Barnwell surrounded them, and having killed a considerable number, forced the remainder to sue for peace: some of his men being wounded, and others having suffered much by constant watching, and much hunger and fatigue, the savages the more easily obtained their request. In this expedition it was computed that Barnwell killed, wounded, and captivated near a thousand Tuscaroras. The remainder, who

escaped on the terms of peace, soon after this heavy chastisement, abandoned their country, and joined a northern tribe of Indians on the Ohio river. King Blunt, who afterward came to South Carolina, confirmed the account of the number the enemy had lost. Of Barnwell's party five Carolineans were killed, and several wounded: of his Indians, thirty-six were killed, and between sixty and seventy wounded. In justice to this officer it must be owned, never had any expedition against the savages in Carolina been attended with such hazards and difficulties, nor had the conquest of any tribe of them ever been more general and complete.*

* Among the many errors which Hewit has committed in his history of Carolina, he has fallen into none more careless and inexcusable, than his account of this war. Dr. Ramsay, whose history of South Carolina, is an exact copy of Hewit's, as far as he goes, has been guilty of the same misstatement of facts. The true history of this insurrection of the Indians, as collected from Williamson, and the authors quoted by him, is this:—John Lawson, had in discharge of his duty, as Surveyor-General of Carolina, marked off some of the lands, claimed by the Tuscarora Indians, on the Neuse River. In consequence of this encroachment upon their rights, added to the frequent impositions of fraudulent traders among them, they seized Lawson, and after a brief trial, put him to death. Becoming alarmed at this outrage, they hoped to escape punishment, by murdering on a given day, all the colonists south of Albemarle Sound. Dividing themselves into small parties, they commenced their horrid purpose on the 22d of September, 1711; on which memorable day, 130 persons fell a sacrifice to their revenge. To put down this insurrection, aid was demanded from South Carolina; and Colonel Barnwell, with a small party of whites, and a considerable body of friendly Indians, of the Cherokee, Creek, and Catawba tribes, was despatched for the purpose. This officer, after killing fifty of the hostile Indians, and taking 250 of them prisoners, came upon one of their forts, on the Neuse River, in which were enclosed six hundred of the Tuscaroras. Instead of carrying the fort by storm, which he could easily have done, he concluded a peace with the enemy, who proving faithless, renewed hostilities in a day or two afterward. Colonel Barnwell, immediately after this treaty, returned to South Carolina. A second demand was made upon that state for aid, and Colonel More, with forty whites, and eight hundred Ashley Indians, set out in the month of December, to meet the enemy. After a fatiguing march through deep forests and swamps, and having encountered much delay by snow storms, and freshets in the rivers, he at length came

Although the expedition to North Carolina was well conducted, and proved as successful as the most sanguine of the Carolineans could have expected, yet the expense the public had incurred by it fell heavy on the province, the revenues of which were inconsiderable, and not at all adapted for such important and extensive enterprises. But as great harmony at this time subsisted between the governor and assembly, they were well disposed for concurring with him in every measure for the public safety and relief. The stamping of bills of credit had been used as the easiest method of defraying these expenses incurred for the public defence: however, at this time the legislature thought proper to establish a public bank, and issued forty-eight thousand pounds in bills of credit, called bank-bills, for answering the exigencies of government, and for the convenience of domestic commerce. This money was to be lent out at interest, on landed or personal security; and, according to the tenor of the act for issuing the same, it was to be sunk gradually, by four thousand pounds a-year; which sum was ordered to be paid annually by the borrowers, into the hands of commissioners appointed for that purpose. After the emission of these bank-bills, the rate of exchange and the price of produce quickly arose, and in the first year advanced to one hundred and fifty, in the second to two hundred *per cent.*

With respect to the utility of this paper money, the planters and merchants, according to their different views

upon the hostile Indians who had thrown up fortifications on the Taw River, about 50 miles from its mouth. Though Colonel More found the enemy well provided with small arms, he soon taught them the folly of standing a siege. Advancing by regular approaches, he, in a few hours, completely entered their works, and eight hundred Tuscaroras became his prisoners. These were claimed by the Ashley Indians as a reward for their services, and were taken to South Carolina, where they were sold for slaves.

The Swiss Baron who, Hewit says, was killed by the Indians, made a treaty with the Tuscaroras, and he, together with all the palatines, who had emigrated with him, escaped the massacre.—See Williamson's North Carolina. Vol. 1. p. 190–199.

and interests, were divided in opinion. The former, who, for the most part, stood indebted to the latter, found that this provincial currency was not only necessary to answer the exigencies of government, but also very useful and convenient in the payment of private debts. This money being local, in proportion as it increased in quantity, it raised the nominal price of provincial commodities; and became of course prejudicial to creditors, in proportion as it was profitable to debtors; for though it depreciated fifty *per cent.* in a year, during which time the planters stood indebted to the merchants, the next year such creditors were obliged to take it in payment, or produce, which had advanced in price, according to the quantity of money in circulation. By the acts of assembly which established these bills of credit, the currency was secured, and made a tender in law in all payments; so that if the creditor refused this money before witnesses offered to him, the debt was discharged from the minute of his refusal.* Besides, the planters knew, that in a trading country gold and silver, by various

* A more unjust law for the colonists could not have been imposed by the proprietary government. Under the specious intent of relieving them from the debt they had incurred, it drained the planters of all the gold and silver they could collect; and left them, as a circulating medium, nothing but a paper currency which soon became almost worthless. At this period, the balance of trade was in favour of England, and although bills of credit were made a legal tender in Carolina, the former country would receive nothing but specie in payment of their exports to the colonies. In consequence of this, all the specie which Carolina procured from her exports to the West Indies was sent over to England in payment for articles imported from that country. Another disgraceful feature in the policy was, that the bills issued by the assembly bore, at first, an interest of twelve per cent.; in consequence of which, many persons in the colony were induced to purchase them, in hopes of receiving so fair an interest upon their money. Their views were however disappointed. In a few years after the bills had been issued, the assembly passed an act that they should be made redeemable at the sums expressed upon the face of them, but without interest. Thus was this system of fraud introduced into Carolina: a few merchants and designing politicians made rapid fortunes—but the poor planters were doomed to be the losers. See Hist. Col. So. Ca. Vol. 2, p. 256, 258.

channels, would make their way out of it, when they answer the purposes of remittance better than produce, to their great prejudice: paper money served to remedy this inconvenience, and to keep up the price of provincial commodities, as it could not leave the colony, and answered the purpose for paying private debts as well, or rather better, than gold and silver. As the trade of the country increased, no doubt a certain quantity of money was necessary to carry it on with ease and freedom; but when paper bills are permitted to increase beyond what are necessary for commercial ease and utility, they sink in value; and in such a case creditors lose in proportion to their depreciation.

In Carolina, as well as in the other British colonies in America, the greater part of the gold and silver current was foreign coin, and the different assemblies settled their value from time to time, by laws peculiar to each province. To remedy the inconveniences arising from the different rates at which the same species of foreign coin did pass in the several colonies and plantations, Queen Anne, in the sixth year of her reign, had thought fit, by her royal proclamation, to settle and ascertain the current rate of foreign coin in all her colonies. The standard at which currency was fixed by this proclamation, was at a hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence *per cent.*; but this regulation, however convenient and advantageous to trade, was afterward little regarded in these provinces, and the confusion of current money continued and prevailed.

After the emission of this great quantity of bank-bills in Carolina, and speedy rise of the price of produce in consequence of it, the merchants of London, to whom the colony stood indebted, judging it prejudicial to trade, complained of it to the proprietors. They perceived that the trade of the country, by this means, would be carried on entirely without silver or gold; and although their factors in Carolina might raise the price of British commodities and manufactures, equal to the advanced price of the produce, yet it might be for their interest sometimes to take gold and

silver rather than produce in return for their British goods. They considered the issuing of such bank-notes as a violation of the laws of England, and prevailed on the proprietors to write Governor Craven a letter to the following effect. "We have heard complaints from several hands of an act you have passed, called the Bank Act. We do recommend to you to consider of some expedient for preventing the mischievous consequences of that act, lest, upon further complaints, we be forced to repeal it. The act is exclaimed against by our London merchants as injurious to trade, as an infringement and violation of the laws of Great Britain, and made almost in opposition to the act of the sixth of Queen Anne. Therefore we expect, for preventing such complaints for the future, that you will endeavour, as much as in you lies, to reduce that paper credit, pretended to be established in your bank act, and that you will strictly put in execution the aforesaid act of Queen Anne."

As the trade of the colony had of late years considerably increased, and was almost entirely carried on in British ships, its protection was an object which demanded the attention either of the proprietors or the British administration. The war in Europe had engrossed the care of the latter, and the former were either unable or unwilling to bear the expense of its protection. They had leased their property in the Bahama islands to a company of merchants, which turning out to little account; the island of Providence became a receptacle for vagabonds and villains of all nations. From this place of rendezvous a crew of desperate pirates had been accustomed to push out to sea, and, in defiance of the laws of nations, to obstruct navigation. The trade of Carolina and that of the West Indies suffered greatly from their depredations. For five years after this period those lawless robbers reigned as the masters of the Gulf of Florida, plundering and taking ships of every nation. North Carolina, by the conquest of its maritime tribes of Indians, had also become a refuge for those rogues, who caarried their prizes into Cape Fear river, or Providence, as best suited their

convenience or interest. Their success induced bold and rapacious spirits to join them, and in time they became so formidable, that no inconsiderable force was requisite to suppress them.

After a long and expensive war, a treaty of peace and commerce was concluded between Britain, France, and Spain in Europe; and orders were sent to all the colonies to desist from acts of hostility. Governor Craven, deeply interested in the prosperity of Carolina, now turned his attention to improve the precious blessings of peace, and to diffuse a spirit of industry and agriculture throughout the settlement. The lands in Granville county were found upon trial rich and fertile, and the planters were encouraged to improve them. Accordingly a number of plantations were settled in the neighbourhood of Indian nations, with whom the governor studied to cultivate a friendly correspondence. For the purposes of trade some men took up their residence in their towns, and furnished them with clothes, arms, and ammunition, in exchange for their furs and deer-skins. An agent was appointed to superintend the affairs of Indian tribes, and to conciliate by all possible means their friendship and esteem. Several interior regulations, conducive to the peace and prosperity of the colony, were also established. The colonists, as an eminent writer observes, in general carry with them so much of the English law as is applicable to their local circumstances and situation; such as, the general rules of inheritance, and of protection from personal injuries. What may be proper to be admitted, and what are necessary to be rejected, is judged and determined, in the first instance, by the provincial judicature; then subject to the approbation or disapprobation of the proprietors; and so far of the British parliament, that nothing may be attempted by them derogatory to the sovereignty and supreme jurisdiction of the mother country. At this time Governor Craven obtained the assent of the general assembly, to make several English statutes of the same force in Carolina as if they had been enacted in it. The people regarded him as a

wise and indulgent parent, and wished to copy the spirit of their laws from the English original, although they received their obligation and authoritative force from their being the laws of the colony.

About this time Nicholas Trott, the chief justice of the colony, returned from England, where he had been for some time engaged in the settlement of private affairs. During his stay in Britain he had engrossed the favour of the proprietors, who finding him to be a man of great abilities, professed a high respect for him, and afterward desired his assistance and advice in every case respecting the future management of their colony. They advanced his salary to one hundred pounds a year, and he agreed to carry on a regular correspondence with their secretary, and to give them the best intelligence with respect to their provincial affairs. Trott having thus secured the confidence of the proprietors in England, soon after he came to Carolina, began to plume himself on his advantageous circumstances, and to treat his former friends in the colony with that pride and insolence too common to most men in office and power. On the other hand, those men, offended at his arrogance, watched his conduct with an envious and malignant eye, and seemed to desire nothing more than to humble his pride and destroy his influence. To this fatal difference may be ascribed several future jealousies and disturbances with which the colonists were harassed, and which terminated in the total subversion of the proprietary government.

CHAPTER V.

After the death of Queen Anne, George, elector of Hanover, ascended the British throne, and was crowned on the 12th of October, 1714. This event was far from giving general satisfaction to the British nation. A considerable party of the principal landholders favoured the pretensions of the house of Stewart, but were so divided in their councils and schemes, that they lost all influence and weight. Having no head, they were unable to turn the balance against the party in the other scale, who, by degrees, engrossed the royal favour, and all offices of power and trust in the kingdom. By this difference, however, a spirit of civil discord and sedition was excited in the nation, and the Chevalier, encouraged by it, and flattered with the hopes of assistance from France, formed a project of snatching the sceptre by force of arms from the family of Hanover. For this purpose, a party in Scotland had recourse to arms, but meeting with little assistance from the pretended friends of the cause in England, the insurrection was soon quelled, and their rash design totally defeated.

During the former reign the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, from the contentions that prevailed in some of the colonies, had taken occasion to look more narrowly than formerly they used to do, into the state of proprietary governments in America, in order to form a plan for purchasing and uniting them more closely to the crown. They easily perceived the advantage of beginning this negociation as soon as possible, for the sooner the purchase was made,

the easier it would be obtained. Accordingly, they wrote to the proprietors of each colony, acquainting them, it was her majesty's pleasure and command, that all governors of her foreign plantations do transmit to them frequent and full information of the state of their respective colonies, as well in respect to the administration of government and justice, as to their progress in trade and improvements. The Queen, though no friend to non-conformists, had also stretched out a hand of relief to the distressed dissenters of Carolina, and publicly disapproved of some oppressive acts to which they had been subjected. This served to encourage a spirit of murmur and discontent among the Carolineans at the proprietary government, and to give their eyes a direction to the crown at every future period, when they thought themselves aggrieved under it.

During the same year in which the attention of Britain was occupied by a civil broil, the colony of Carolina was visited with a terrible Indian war, which threatened its total extirpation.* The numerous and powerful tribe of Indians

* The principal Indian tribes, which have resided in and about South Carolina, have been, I. The Catawbahs. II. The Cherakes, or Cherokees. III. The Muskoghes, or Creeks. IV. The Chickasahs, and V. the Chocktaws.

I. The Catawbahs resided upon a river bearing the same name with their tribe. In 1765, their territory was bounded, north and north-east by North Carolina; east and south by South Carolina; and about west south-west by the Cherokee nation. When South Carolina was first discovered, this tribe amounted to 1,500 warriors. In 1743, they amounted to only 400; and in twenty years afterward were reduced to little more than 100. This tribe originally embraced twenty-eight subordinate tribes, of different nations, among which are to be enumerated, the *Westoes*, *Stonoes*, *Coosawes*, and *Sewees*, located between Charleston and Edisto river. The Yamassees, occupied the territory backward from Port-Royal, on the north-east side of Savannah river, which is to this day called the Indian land; and the Waterees settled on Pine creek below Camden. "The Catawbahs," says Adair, who traded with these Indian tribes for forty years, "had an old waste field, seven miles in extent, besides several others of smaller dimensions; which shows that they must have been a very numerous people to cultivate so much land, and that too, with nothing but dull stone axes." Adair's Hist. Amer. Ind. p. 225. This tribe, "which consisted of as brave fellows as any on the

called Yamassees, probably at the instigation of the Spaniards at Augustine, were the most active in promoting this conspiracy against the settlement, though every tribe around was more or less concerned in it. The Yamassees pos-

continent of America," were always in amity with the people of Carolina. Hist. Col. So. Car. Vol. 2. p. 243.

II. In 1775, the Cherokees dwelt chiefly upon the head waters of the Savannah, the Catahoochee, the Alabama, the Tennessee, and Cumberland rivers. They have a tradition, that they came from the west, and exterminated a certain "moon-eyed people." Adair's Hist. Amer. Ind. p. 226. Their territory was about one hundred and forty miles broad, from east to west; and extended from the thirty-fourth to nearly the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude. They divided it into Lower and Upper. About the beginning of the last century, they had sixty-four populous towns; and could command more than six thousand warriors. Fifty years afterward, their towns were probably reduced to thirty; for their warriors did not exceed three thousand. Bartram, p. 43. Two thousand two hundred hunters were counted in 1769; and, in 1793, they were estimated at fifteen hundred. Adair, pp. 226–7. In 1775, the towns west of the Appalachian mountains were Tennàse, Choàte, Great-Telliko, and Hewhase. Adair, p. 252. Those, in the other parts, were "Ishtatohe, Echia, Toogala," &c. The Cherakes, too, imagine themselves superior to all other men; and their name is accordingly derived from *Cheera*, the divine fire. Bart. p. 44.

III. The Muskohges, or Creeks, are the most powerful confederacy in the southern states. They point to the west, as the place of their origin; and tell a story of men, who had hair all over their bodies, and carried thunder and lightning in their hands. Bart. p. 47. Their English name is derived from the multiplicity of streams, which supply them with food: it is a part of their policy to incorporate with themselves such nations as have been driven from their paternal seats: they have been prompted to spend a great part of their time in the cultivation of their grounds; and, as a remarkable exception to the common progress of the tribes in the United States, their numbers are said to have doubled between 1730 and 1760. Adair, p. 259. The territory claimed by the original tribe, extends from the Tombigbee to the Atlantic; and from Florida to the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude. In 1775, their grounds were one hundred and eighty miles in length; and they were "situated," says their historian, "between the Cheerake, Georgia, East and West Florida, and the Choktah and Chickkasah nations, the one two hundred, and the other three hundred miles up the Mississippi." Adair, p. 257. They are divided into Upper and Lower; and the latter have acquired the name of Seminoles. In 1775, the former could assemble three thousand five hundred warriors; and, in 1791, both together had five thousand hunters. Their towns were stated at fifty, in 1775; and at sixty, in 1791. Adair, p. 257.—Bart. p. 47. The names of the principal tribes were

sessed a large territory lying backward from Port-Royal island, on the north-east side of Savanna river, which to this day is called Indian Land. By the Carolineans this tribe had long been esteemed as friends and allies, who had admitted a number of traders into their towns, and several

the Apalaches, the Alabamas, the Abecas, the Cawittaws, the Conshachs, the Coosas, the Coosactees, the Chacsihoomas, the Natchees, the Oakmulgees, Oconees, Okohoys, Pakanas, Taensas, Talepoosas, and Weektumkas.

IV. and V. The Chickkasahs and Choktahs are said to have crossed the Mississippi as one family; and to have been able, at their first settlement on this side, to summon ten thousand fighting men. The towns of the former are upon the head branches of the Mobile and Yazoo rivers. In 1729, they had, we are told, 'four large contiguous settlements, which lay nearly in the form of three parts of a square, only that the eastern side was five times shorter than the western, with the open part toward the Choktah. One was called Yaneha, about a mile wide, and six miles long, at the distance of twelve miles from their present towns. Another was ten computed miles long, at the like distance from their present settlements, and from one to two miles broad. The towns were called Shatara, Chookheereso, Hykehah, Tuskawillao, and Phalacheho. The other square was single, began three miles from their present place of residence, and ran four miles in length, and one mile in breadth. This was called Chookka Pharaah, or the Long House. It was more populous than their whole nation contains at present. The remains of this once formidable people, make up the northern angle of that broken square. In 1764, their warriors amounted to seven hundred and fifty; but, four years afterward, they were reduced to five hundred; Jeff. N. 11., and, in 1775, they are stated at four hundred and fifty. Adair, p. 353.

"In 1775, the territory of the Choktahs lay in the form of an oblong square; and it was only upon the sides which faced the Creeks and Chickkasahs, that they had numerous or extensive settlements. Their lower towns were two hundred miles north of New Orleans; the upper, one hundred and fifty to the south of Chickkasah, and at the same distance north of Mobile. Adair, p. 282. The French once estimated their warriors at nine thousand. In 1759, they were stated to be only two thousand; in 1764 and 1775, they were calculated at four thousand five hundred; but, in 1793, their hunters are said to have dwindled to five or six hundred. Jeff. N. 11. —Ad. p. 282.—Bart. p. 48. It was formerly a custom among the Choktahs, to flatten their skulls, by imposing a bag of sand upon the top, while infants; but, it is said, they have long ceased to think, that there is either beauty or virtue in a flat head. Bart. p. 1. See Sandford's United States, p. 163; also, Mills' Statistics of So. Car., pp. 104–129, in which considerable information of the Indian tribes, collected from the Secretary of State's Office in South Carolina, is to be met with.

times assisted the settlers in their warlike enterprises. Of all other Indians they were believed to harbour in their minds the most inveterate and irreconcilable enmity to Spaniards. For many years they had been accustomed to make incursions into the Spanish territories, and to wage war with the Indians within their bounds. In their return from those southern expeditions, it had been a common practice with them to lurk in the woods round Augustine, until they surprised some Spaniard, and brought him prisoner home to their towns. On the bodies of these unfortunate prisoners they were accustomed to exercise the most wanton barbarities; sometimes cutting them to pieces slowly, joint by joint, with knives and tomahawks; at other times burying them up to the neck under ground, then standing at a distance and marking at their heads with their pointed arrows; and, at other times, binding them to a tree, and piercing the tenderest parts of their naked bodies with sharp-pointed sticks of burning wood, which last, because the most painful and excruciating method of torture, was the most common among them.

To prevent such horrid cruelties from being committed on the bodies of human creatures, the legislature of Carolina passed a law, offering a reward of five pounds for every Spanish prisoner these Indians should bring alive to Charlestown; which law, though it evidently proceeded from motives of humanity, yet, in the event, it proved very inconsistent with good policy: for, in consequence of this act, the Yamassees brought several Spaniards, at different times, to Charlestown, where they claimed the reward for their prisoners, and delivered them up to the governor. Charles Craven, who was no less distinguished for humanity than valour, used to send back such prisoners to Augustine, charging the Spanish government with the expenses of their passage and the reward to the Yamassees. But this humane practice, while it displayed English greatness of mind, served also to begin an intercourse, which will exhibit to us a sad specimen of Spanish honour and gratitude.

For twelve months before the war broke out, the traders among the Yamassees observed that their chief warriors went frequently to Augustine, and returned loaded with presents; but were not apprehensive of any ill consequence from such generosity. John Fraser, an honest Scotch Highlander, who lived among the Yamassees, and traded with them, had often heard these warriors tell with what kindness they had been treated at Augustine. One had received a hat, another a jacket, and a third a coat, all trimmed with silver lace. Some got hatchets, others great knives, and almost all of them guns and ammunition, to prepare them for striking some great and important blow. These warriors told Mr. Fraser, that they had dined with the governor at Augustine, and washed his face, (a ceremony used by Indians as a token of friendship,) and that now the Spanish governor was their king, and not the governor of Carolina. Still, however, the Carolineans remained secure, and, having such confidence in the Indians, dreaded no ill consequences from this new intercourse and uncommon kindness. They knew the Yamassees' antipathy to the Spaniards, their fondness for presents, but could suspect no mischievous plot meditated against the settlement by friends and allies. They were not ignorant that the subjects of both England and Spain always endeavoured, for the sake of peace, to court the friendship of Indian nations, who were such powerful and dangerous enemies. Each competitor knew their passion for war, and how heavy their vengeance, wherever it pointed, generally fell, and therefore good policy dictated the necessity of turning the edge of their fierce and bloody temper against their neighbours, in order to save themselves.

It was a common thing for the traders who resided among these savages to single out a particular warrior of influence and authority among them, and to court his favour with trifling presents and constant civility. Among the Yamassees one named Sanute was Fraser's friend, who, with his fellow-warriors, had also been at Florida, and shared of the

Spaniards' insidious liberality. During his absence Mr. Fraser had married a fine woman; and Sanute, who had a great regard for him, after his return home came to his house, and brought along with him some sweet herbs, to show the lady a mark of respect, agreeable to customs of Indian nations. So soon as he entered the habitation of his friend, he called for a basin of water, in which he bruised the herbs, and first washed Mrs. Fraser's face and hands, and then, clapping his own hands upon his breast, told her, that, for the future, he would communicate to her all he knew in his heart. She, in return, thanked him, and made him some present. Accordingly, about nine days before hostilities commenced, Sanute came to Mrs. Fraser's house, and told her, that the English were all wicked heretics, and would go to hell, and that the Yamassees would also follow them, if they suffered them to live in their country; that now the governor of Augustine was their king; that there would be a terrible war with the English, and they only waited for the bloody stick to be returned from the Creeks before they began it. He told them, that the Yamassees, the Creeks, the Cherokees, and many other nations, together with the Spaniards, were all to engage in it; and advised them to fly to Charlestown with all they had in the greatest haste, and if their own pettiauger was not large enough to carry them, he would lend them his canoe. Fraser, not a little astonished at the news, asked him, how the Spaniards could go to war with the Carolineans, while at peace with Great Britain? To which Sanute replied, the Spanish governor told him that there would soon be a war again with the English, and that while they attacked the Carolineans by land, he would send to Spain for a fleet of ships to block up the harbour, so that not a man or woman of them should escape. Fraser asked him, how long it might be since they had formed this horrid design? Sanute answered, Do not you remember about twelve months ago that Ishiagaska, one of our chief warriors, with four more Indians, went to the Creeks? Fraser said, he

remembered it well. Then it was, said Sanute, he carried with him a Spanish talk for destroying all the English inhabitants of the province; and, laying his hand upon his heart, declared he had told them all he knew, and repeated his advice to them to fly with all expedition: but, if they were determined to stay and run all hazards, he concluded by assuring them, that, to prevent torture, he would claim the privilege of performing the last friendly office to them, which was to kill them with his own hands. Fraser still entertained some doubts, but his wife being terrified, he resolved at all events to get out of the way, and accordingly, without delay, put his wife, his child, and most valuable effects, into his boat, and made his escape to Charlestown.

While the time drew nigh in which this dark plot was to be put in execution, Captain Nairn, agent for Indian affairs, and many traders, resided at Pocotaligo, the largest town belonging to the Yamassees. Mr. Fraser, probably either discrediting what he had heard, or from the hurry and confusion which the alarm occasioned, unfortunately had not taken time to communicate the intelligence he had received to his friends, who remained in a state of false security in the midst of their enemies. The case of the scattered settlers on the frontiers was equally lamentable, who were living under no suspicions of danger. However, on the day before the Yamassees began their bloody operations, Captain Nairn and some of the traders observing an uncommon gloom on their savage countenances, and apparently great agitations of spirit, which to them prognosticated approaching mischief, went to their chief men, begging to know the cause of their uneasiness, and promising, if any injury had been done them, to give them satisfaction. The chiefs replied, they had no complaints to make against any one, but intended to go a hunting early the next morning. Captain Nairn accordingly went to sleep, and the traders retired to their huts, and passed the night in seeming friendship and tranquillity. But next morning, about the break of day, being the 13th day of April, 1715, all were

alarmed with the cries of war. The leaders were all out under arms, calling upon their followers, and proclaiming aloud designs of vengeance. The young men, burning with fury and passion, flew to their arms, and, in a few hours, massacred above ninety persons in Pocotaligo town and the neighbouring plantations,* and many more must have fallen a sacrifice on Port-royal Island, had they not providentially been warned of their danger. Mr. Burrows, a captain of the militia, after receiving two wounds, by swimming one mile and running ten, escaped to Port-royal and alarmed the town. A vessel happening fortunately to be in the harbour, the inhabitants in great hurry repaired on board, and sailed for Charlestown; only a few families of planters on that island, not having timely notice, fell into their barbarous hands, some of whom they murdered, and others they made prisoners of war.†

While the Yamassees, with whom the Creeks and Apallachians had joined, were advancing against the southern frontiers, and spreading desolation and slaughter through the province; the colonists on the northern borders also found the Indians down among the settlements in formidable parties. The Carolineans had foolishly entertained hopes of the friendship of the Congarees, the Catawbas and Cherokees; but they soon found that they had also joined in the conspiracy, and declared for war. It was computed that the southern division of the enemy consisted of above six thousand bowmen, and the northern of between six hundred and a thousand. Indeed every Indian tribe, from Florida to Cape Fear river, had joined in this confederacy for the destruction of the settlement. The planters scattered

* Captain Nairn, who was among the number massacred, was buried at the Episcopal church in St. Andrew's parish, where a monument is erected to his memory, giving an exact account of his unfortunate death.

† A more particular account of the breaking out of this war, will be found in the extract from the Boston News of 1715, reprinted in 2d Vol. of these Collections. See also Humphreys in ibid., and Report of the expedition to St. Augustine, ibid., p. 352.

here and there, had no time to gather in a body sufficiently strong to withstand such numbers; but each consulting his own safety, and that of his helpless family, in great hurry and consternation fled to the capital. Every one who came in brought the governor different accounts of the number and strength of the savages, insomuch that even the inhabitants of Charlestown were doubtful of their safety, and entertained the most discouraging apprehensions of their inability to repel a force so great and formidable. In the muster-roll there were no more than one thousand two hundred men fit to bear arms, but as the town had several forts into which the inhabitants might retreat, the governor, with this small force, resolved to march into the woods against the enemy. He proclaimed the martial law, and laid an embargo on all ships, to prevent either men or provisions from leaving the country. He obtained an act of assembly, empowering him to impress men, and seize arms, ammunition, and stores, wherever they were to be found, to arm such trusty negroes as might be serviceable at a juncture so critical, and to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Agents were sent to Virginia and England, to solicit assistance; bills were stamped for the payment of the army, and other necessary expenses; Robert Daniel was appointed deputy-governor in town, and Charles Craven, at the head of the militia, marched to the country against the largest body of savages.

In the mean time, the Indians on the northern quarter had made an inroad as far as a plantation belonging to John Hearne, about fifty miles from town, and entered his house in a seemingly peaceable and friendly manner; but afterward, pretending to be displeased with the provisions given them, murdered him and every person in it. Thomas Barker, a captain of militia, having intelligence of the approach of these Indians, collected a party, consisting of ninety horsemen, and advanced against them; but by the treachery of an Indian, whom he unluckily trusted, he was led into a dangerous ambuscade in a thicket, where a large

party of Indians lay concealed on the ground. Barker having advanced into the middle of them before he was aware of his danger, the Indians sprang from their concealments, and fired upon his men on every side. The Captain and several more fell at the first onset, and the remainder in confusion were obliged to retreat. After this advantage, a party of four hundred Indians came down as far as Goose Creek. Every family there had fled to town, except in one place, where seventy white men and forty negroes had surrounded themselves with a breast-work, and resolved to remain and defend themselves in the best manner they could. When the Indians attacked them they were discouraged, and rashly agreed to terms of peace; and, having admitted the enemy within their works, this poor garrison were barbarously butchered: after which the Indians advanced still nigher to town; but at length meeting with Captain Chicken and the whole Goose Creek militia, they were repulsed, and obliged to retreat into the wilderness.

By this time the Yamassees, with their confederates, had spread destruction through the parish of St. Bartholomew, and advancing downwards as far as Stono, they burned the churches at that place, together with every house on the plantations by the way. John Cochran, his wife, and four children; Mr. Bray, his wife, and two children; and six more men and women, having found some friends among them, were spared for some days; but, while attempting to make their escape from them, they were retaken and put to death. Such as had no friends among them were tortured in the most shocking manner, the Indians seeming to neglect their progress towards conquest on purpose to assist in tormenting their enemies. We forbear to mention the various tortures inflicted on such as fell into their merciless fangs: none can be pleased with the relation of such horrid cruelties, but the man who, with a smile of satisfaction, can be the spectator of a Spanish *auto de fe*, or such savage hearts as are steeled against every emotion of humanity and compassion.

By this time Governor Craven, being no stranger to the ferocious tempers of his enemies and their horrid cruelty to prisoners, was advancing against them by slow and cautious steps, always keeping the strictest guard round his army. He knew well under what advantages they fought among their native thickets, and the various wiles and stratagems they made use of in conducting their wars; and therefore was watchful above all things against sudden surprises, which might throw his followers into disorder, and defeat the end of his enterprise. The fate of the whole province depended on the success of his arms, and his men had no other alternative left but to conquer or die a painful death. As he advanced, the straggling parties fled before him, until he reached Saltcatchers, where they had pitched their great camp. Here a sharp and bloody battle ensued from behind trees and bushes, the Indians whooping, hallooing, and giving way one while, and then again and again returning with double fury to the charge. But the governor, notwithstanding their superior number and all their terrible shrieks, kept the provincials close at their heels, and drove them before him like a flock of ravenous wolves. He expelled them from their settlement at Indian Land, pursued them over Savanna river, and rid the province entirely of this formidable tribe of savages. What number of his army he lost, or of the enemy he killed, we have not been able particularly to learn; but in this Indian war near four hundred innocent inhabitants of Carolina were murdered by these wild barbarians.

The Yamassees, after their defeat and expulsion, went directly to the Spanish territories in Florida, where they were received with bells ringing and guns firing, as if they had come victoriously from the field; from which circumstance, together with the encouragement afterward given them to settle in Florida, there is too good reason to believe, that this horrid conspiracy was contrived by Spaniards, and carried on by their encouragement and assistance. Two prisoners, whom they had saved and carried to Augustine along

with them, Mrs. Sisson and Mrs. Macartey, afterward reported to the Carolineans the news of this kind reception the Indians met with from the Spaniards. On the other hand, though the province of Carolina suffered much at this time, yet the governor had the good fortune to prevent its total destruction. From the lowest state of despondency, Charlestown, on the governor's return to it, was raised to the highest pitch of joy. He entered it with some degree of triumph, receiving from all such applauses as his wise conduct and unexpected success justly merited. Indeed his prosperous expedition had not only disconcerted the most formidable conspiracy ever formed against the colony, but also placed the inhabitants in general, however much exposed individuals might be to small scalping parties, in a state of greater security and tranquillity than they had hitherto enjoyed.

However, from that period in which the Yamassee Indians were compelled to take up their residence in Florida, they harboured in their breasts the most inveterate ill-will and rancour to all Carolineans, and watched every opportunity of pouring their vengeance on them. Being furnished with arms and ammunition from the Spaniards, they often broke out on small scalping parties, and infested the frontiers of the British settlement. One party of them catched William Hooper, and killed him by degrees, by cutting off one joint of his body after another, until he expired. Another party surprised Henry Quinton, Thomas Simmons, and Thomas Parmenter, and, to gratify their revenge, tortured them to death. Dr. Rose afterward fell also into their hands, whom they cut across his nose with their tomahawk, and having scalped him left him on the spot for dead; but he happily recovered of his wounds. In short, the emissaries of St. Augustine, disappointed in their sanguinary design of destroying root and branch in Carolina, had now no other resource left but to employ the vindictive spirit of the Yamassees against the defenceless frontiers of the province. In these excursions, it must be confessed, they were too

successful, for many poor settlers at different times fell a sacrifice to their insatiable revenge.

During the time of this hard struggle with the Indians, the legislature of Carolina had made application to the proprietors, representing to them the weak state of the province, the deplorable dangers which hung over it, and begging their paternal help and protection; but being doubtful whether the proprietors would be inclined to involve their English estates in debt for supporting their property in Carolina, in so precarious a situation, they instructed their agent, in case he failed of success from them, to apply to the king for relief. The merchants entered cordially into the measure for making application to the crown, and considered it as the most effectual expedient for retrieving their credit in England, lost by the dangers which threatened the country, and the pirates that infested the coast. They perceived at once the many advantages which would accrue to them from being taken under the immediate care and protection of the crown. Ships of war would soon clear the coast of pestilent sea-robbers, and give free scope to trade and navigation. Forces by land would overawe the warlike Indians, prevent such dreadful attempts for the future, and they would reap the happy fruits of public peace and security. The inhabitants in general were much dissatisfied with living under a government unable to protect them, and what rendered their case still more lamentable, prevented the interposition of the crown for their defence, and therefore were very unanimous in the proposed application to the crown.

About the middle of the year 1715, the agent for Carolina waited on the proprietors, with a representation of the heavy calamities under which their colony laboured from the ravages of barbarous enemies, and the depredations of lawless pirates. He acquainted them, that the Yamassees, by the influence of Spanish emissaries, had claimed the whole lands of the country as their ancient possessions, and conspired with many other tribes to assert their right by

force of arms, and therefore urged the necessity of sending immediate relief to the colony. But not being satisfied with the answer he received, he petitioned the house of commons in behalf of the distressed Carolineans. The commons addressed the king, praying for his kind interposition and immediate assistance to the colony. The king referred the matter to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations. The lords of trade made an objection, that the province of Carolina was one of the proprietary governments, and were of opinion, that, if the nation should be at the expense of its protection, the government ought to be vested in the crown. Upon which Lord Carteret wrote them a letter to the following effect: "We the proprietors of Carolina having met on this melancholy occasion, to our great grief find, that we are utterly unable of ourselves to afford our colony suitable assistance in this conjuncture, and unless his majesty will graciously please to interpose, we can foresee nothing but the utter destruction of his majesty's faithful subjects in those parts." The lords of trade asked Lord Carteret what sum might be necessary for that service, and whether the government of the colony should not devolve on the crown, if Great Britain should agree to bear the expense of its defence. To which Lord Carteret replied, "the proprietors humbly submitted to his majesty's great wisdom, what sum of money he should be pleased to grant for their assistance; and in case the money advanced for this purpose should not be in a reasonable time repaid, they humbly conceived that then his majesty would have an equitable right to take the government under his immediate care and protection."

The same year a bill was brought into the house of commons in England, for the better regulation of the charter and proprietary governments in America, and of his majesty's plantations there; the chief design of which was, to reduce all charter and proprietary governments into legal ones. Men conversant in the history of past ages, particularly in that of the rise and progress of different states, had

long foreseen the rapid increase of American colonies, and wisely judged, that it would be for the interest of the kingdom to purchase them for the crown as soon as possible. At different times, administration, in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, held treaties with the proprietors for this purpose: but some obstacles always came in the way, or some accidents occurred, which prevented a final agreement. At this time, while Penn was about selling the government of Pennsylvania, for twelve thousand pounds, to the crown, he was seized with an apoplexy, and died before the deeds were executed. Lord Baltimore, the Duke of Beaufort, and Lord Craven, all minors, petitioned to be heard by counsel against passing the bill. The province of Massachusett's Bay petitioned against it, alleging that the charter they had received from King William placed them on the same footing with the different corporations in England, and that it would be equally hard and unjust to deprive them of their charter privileges, as to disfranchise the English corporations. The colony of Connecticut, whose charter was intended to be taken away by this bill, in like manner petitioned to be excepted out of it. These petitions, together with the reasons assigned in support of them, the committee of the house found some difficulty in answering, and therefore, instead of proceeding farther in an affair of such national concern, the design was entirely dropped.

It is remarkable, that the proprietors of Carolina, at the time they obtained their charter, as is expressly mentioned in it, were excited to form that settlement by their zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith among the Indians of America: yet, to their shame it must be confessed, that they have either never used any endeavours for this laudable purpose, or they have been utterly fruitless and ineffectual. At this time, indeed, the society incorporated for propagating the gospel maintained several missionaries in Carolina, as well as in the northern provinces. The parishes of St. Helen's, St. Paul's, Christ Church, St. Andrew's, St. James's, and St. John's, were all supplied with ministers

from this charitable corporation, who were instructed to use their best endeavours for spreading the gospel among the heathens in their neighbourhood, and received an annual allowance from the society for that purpose; yet we have not been able to learn that these heathens ever reaped the smallest advantage from them. The Spaniards, though they have often made use of the more severe and rough means of conversion, and erected the standard of the cross in a field of blood, yet they have also been exceedingly diligent and assiduous in teaching heathens the principles of the Catholic religion. In point of policy, this zeal was more praiseworthy than English negligence: for such barbarians would certainly have been much easier tamed and civilized by mild instruction than by force of arms. The Tumican and Apalachian Indians, before Governor Moore's inroads among them, had made some advances towards civilization, and paid, by means of instruction from Roman Catholic missionaries, strict obedience to the Spanish government at Augustine. Had the proprietors of Carolina erected schools, for the instruction of young Indians in the language, manners, and religion of the English nation, such an institution might have been attended with the most beneficial effects. For while the children of such savages were living among the colonists, they would have been like so many hostages to secure the good will and peaceable behaviour of their parents, and when they returned to the nation to which they belonged, their knowledge of the English language and customs would, for the future, have rendered all commercial treaties and transactions between them easy and practicable. Besides, they would have all the prejudices of education in favour of the English manners and government, which would have helped both to fortify them against the fatal influence of Spanish rivals, and to render them more firm and steady to the British interest.

Although the Yamassee war had terminated much to the honour of the Carolineans, yet the fatal effects of it were long and heavily felt by the colony. Many of the planters

had no negroes to assist them in raising provisions for their families, and those persons who had negroes, could not be spared to overlook them, so that the plantations were left uncultivated, and the produce of the year was trifling and inconsiderable. The men being more solicitous about the safety of their families than the increase of their fortunes, purchased bills of exchange at any price, to send with them to the northern provinces, in order to procure for them there the necessaries of life. The provincial merchants being much indebted to those in London, the latter were alarmed at the dangers which hung over the colony, and pressed them much for remittances. The Indians, who stood indebted to the merchants of Carolina for ten thousand pounds, instead of paying their debts, had cancelled them, by murdering the traders, and abandoning the province. No remittances could be made, but in such commodities as the country produced, and all hands being engaged in war, rendered them both very scarce and extremely dear. To answer the public exigences of the province, large emissions of paper currency were also requisite. Hence the rate of exchange arose to an extravagant height. The province was indebted no less than eighty thousand pounds, and at the same time obliged to maintain garrisons on the frontiers for the public defence, which served to increase the debt. While struggling amidst those hardships, the merchants of London complained to the proprietors of the increase of paper money, as injurious to trade; in consequence of which they strictly ordered their governor to reduce it. All those things served to aggravate the distress of the poor colonists, and caused them to murmur against their landlords for want of compassion, and to turn not a little disaffected to their government.

The next step taken by the legislature of Carolina, served to widen the difference. The Yamassees being expelled from Indian Land, the assembly passed two acts to appropriate those lands gained by conquest for the use and encouragement of such of his majesty's subjects as should come over and settle upon them. Extracts of these acts be-

ing sent to England and Ireland, and published among the people, five hundred men from Ireland transported themselves to Carolina, to take the benefit of them; which influx was a great acquisition at this juncture, and served to strengthen these frontiers against future incursions from barbarians. But the beneficial consequences of these acts were all frustrated by the proprietors, who repealed them, claiming such lands as their property, and insisting on the right of disposing of them as they thought fit. Not long afterward, to the utter ruin of the Irish emigrants, and in breach of the provincial faith to them, the proprietors ordered the Indian Lands to be surveyed for their own use, and run out in large baronies; by which harsh usage the old settlers, having lost the protection of the new comers, deserted their plantations, and again left the frontiers open to the enemy; as for the unfortunate Irish emigrants, having spent the little money they had, many of them, reduced to misery, perished, and the remainder moved to the northern colonies.

About this time Governor Craven, having received advice from England of Sir Anthony Craven's death, intimated to the proprietors, that the affairs of his family required his presence, and obtained their leave to return to Britain. No governor had ever gained more general love and deserved respect from the Carolineans, nor had any man ever left the province whose departure was more universally regretted. Having appointed Robert Daniel deputy-governor, he embarked for England about the end of April, 1716. While the man-of-war rode at anchor near the bar, Mr. Gideon Johnston, with about thirty more gentlemen, went into a sloop to take leave of their beloved governor, and sailed with him over the bar. On their return a storm arose, the sloop was overset, and Mr. Johnston, being lame of the gout and in the hold, was drowned. The other gentlemen, who were upon deck, saved themselves by swimming to the land. Afterward the sloop drove, and what has been thought somewhat remarkable, Mr. Johnston's body was taken out of it,

while beating against the same bank of sand upon which he had almost perished at his first arrival in Carolina.

Before Governor Craven arrived in England, John Lord Carteret, a nobleman no less distinguished by his illustrious descent than personal merit, had succeeded to the dignity of palatine. Nicholas Trott, who was chief-justice of Carolina, received a warrant from this nobleman, empowering him to sit also as judge of the provincial court of vice-admiralty. William Rhett, who was Trott's brother-in-law, and receiver-general, was likewise made comptroller of his majesty's customs in Carolina and Bahama islands. The many offices of trust and emolument which these two men held, together with their natural abilities, gave them great weight and influence in the province, especially at the election of members to serve in assembly. When the provincial assembly met, a bill was brought into the house for the better regulation of the Indian trade, nominating commissioners, and empowering them to apply the profits arising from it to the public benefit and defence, and passed with little opposition. As the colonists had been accustomed to choose all their members of assembly at Charlestown, at which election great riots and tumults had often happened; to remedy this disorder, another bill was brought into assembly for regulating elections; in which, among other things, it was enacted, "That every parish should send a certain number of representatives, in all not exceeding thirty-six; that they should be balloted for at the different parish churches, or some other convenient place, on a day to be mentioned in the writs, which were to be directed to the churchwardens, who were required to make returns of the members elected." This was a popular act, as the inhabitants found it not only allowed them greater freedom, but was more conformable to the practice in England, and more convenient for the settlers than their former custom of electing all members in town.

By this time the struggle between the proprietors and possessors of the soil, which had long subsisted, and in which

the officers intrusted with supporting their lordships' power and prerogative always found themselves deeply interested, was become more serious. Those popular acts, but particularly the latter, gave great offence to some members of the council, who plainly perceived its tendency to ruin their influence at elections, and of course the power of the proprietors. Among others, Trott and Rhett strenuously opposed the bills. Though they were not able to prevent their passing in Carolina, yet they took care to send to England such representations of them as could not fail to render them the objects of the proprietors' disapprobation. Indeed the act respecting elections had broken in upon a former law, which had been ratified in England, and never repealed by the same authority. The consequence was, both those bills in a little time were sent back repealed, by an instrument under the proprietors' hands and seals. The colonists, far from being pleased with the former conduct of their landlords, now became outrageous, and spoke boldly of their tyranny, bad policy, and want of compassion for distressed freemen. Being still exposed to incursions from the sanguinary and vindictive Yamassees, furnished with arms and ammunition from the Spaniards, they were obliged to maintain a company of rangers to protect the frontiers against them. Three small forts were erected at Congarees, Savanna, and Apalachicola, for the public defence, and money must be raised for the payment of garrisons. Presents of considerable value were also necessary, to preserve the friendship of other Indian tribes. These public expenses ate up all the fruits of the poor planter's industry. The law appropriating the profits of the Indian trade for the public protection had been repealed; the public credit was at so low an ebb, that no man would trust his money in the provincial treasury. None would risk their lives in defence of the colony without pay, and the province, oppressed with a load of debt, was utterly unable to furnish the necessary supplies. The people complained of the insufficiency of that government which could not protect them,

and at the same time prevented the interposition of the crown for this purpose. Governor Daniel himself joined them in their complaints, and every one seemed ardently to wish for those advantages which other colonies enjoyed, under the immediate care and protection of a powerful sovereign.

In this discontented and unhappy state Robert Johnson found the Carolineans, when he arrived with a commission from Lord Carteret, bearing date April 30, 1717, investing him with the government of the province: to which office a salary of four hundred pounds sterling was now annexed. He was son to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who formerly held the same office, and had left him an estate in Carolina. This new governor was a man of wisdom, integrity, and moderation; but came out with such instructions as were ill adapted to the circumstances and situation of the colony. Soon after his arrival he perceived the disaffection of the people to the proprietary government, and the many difficulties with which he would have to struggle in the faithful discharge of his duty. His council consisted of Thomas Broughton, Alexander Skene, Nicholas Trott, Charles Hart, James Kinloch, Francis Yonge, &c., some of whom were highly dissatisfied with the harsh treatment of the proprietors. After calling an assembly, the governor, as usual, signified to them his esteem for the people, his love to the province, and his resolutions of pursuing such measures as might be judged most conducive to its peace and prosperity. The assembly, in answer, expressed great satisfaction with appointing a man of so good a character to that high office; but, at the same time, were not insensible of the oppression of their landlords, nor of the many hardships they had to expect under their weak and contemptible government.

About this time some merchants and masters of ships, trading to America and the West Indies, having suffered much from the barbarity and depredations of pirates, complained to the king in council of the heavy losses the trade of the nation had sustained from those public robbers, who

had grown so numerous and insolent, that unless a speedy check should be given to them, the navigation in those seas would be totally ruined. In consequence of which the king issued a proclamation, promising a pardon to all pirates who should surrender themselves in the space of twelve months, and at the same time ordered to sea a force for suppressing them. As they had made the island of Providence their common place of residence, Captain Woodes Rogers sailed against this island, with a few ships of war, and took possession of it for the crown. Except one Vane, who with about ninety more made their escape in a sloop, all the pirates took the benefit of the king's proclamation, and surrendered. Captain Rogers having made himself master of the island, formed a council in it, and appointed officers civil and military for the better government of its inhabitants. He built some forts for its security and defence, and so ordered matters, that, for the future, the trade of the West Indies was well protected against this lawless crew.

Though the pirates on the island of Providence were crushed, those of North Carolina still remained, and were equally insolent and troublesome. Vane, who escaped from Captain Rogers, had taken two ships bound from Charlestown to London. A pirate sloop of ten guns, commanded by Steed Bonnet, and another commanded by Richard Worley, had taken possession of the mouth of Cape Fear river, which place was now the principal refuge left for those rogues. Their station there was so convenient for blocking up the harbour of Charlestown, that the trade of the colony was greatly obstructed by them. No sooner had one crew left the coast than another appeared, so that scarcely one ship coming in or going out escaped them. Governor Johnson, resolving to check their insolence, fitted out a ship of force, gave the command of it to William Rhett, and sent him out to sea for the protection of trade. Rhett had scarcely got over the bar when Steed Bonnet spied him, but finding he was more than a match for him, made all the sail he could for his refuge in Cape Fear river. Thither Rhett fol-

lowed him, took the sloop, and brought the commander and about thirty men with him to Charlestown. Soon after this, Governor Johnson himself embarked, and sailed in pursuit of the other sloop of six guns, commanded by Richard Worley, which after a desperate engagement off the bar of Charlestown, was also taken. The pirates fought like furies, until they were all killed or wounded, excepting Worley and another man, who even then refused to surrender, until they were likewise dangerously wounded. These two men, together with their sloop, the governor brought into Charlestown, where they were instantly tried, condemned, and executed, to prevent their dying of their wounds. Steed Bonnet and his crew were also tried, and all, except one man, hanged, and buried on White Point, below high water mark.*

Governor Johnson, formerly a popular man, was now become much more so, by his courage in exposing his person, and the success attending his expedition against the pirates. The coast being happily cleared, and free scope given to trade, afterward no pirates durst venture to sea in that quarter. This check, together with that they received among the islands, served to extirpate these pestilent robbers, who had declared war against all mankind; and, by reducing themselves to the savage state of nature, had led such lives as rendered them the common enemy of every civilized nation. But these two expeditions from Carolina, though crowned with success, cost the poor province upwards of ten thousand pounds, an additional burden which, at this juncture, it was ill qualified to support.

At the same time, Governor Johnson had instructions to reduce the paper currency circulating in the province, of

* The papers, printed in the colonies at this time, are filled with accounts of these piratical depredations. In the Boston News Letter of July 16th, 1724, we learn, that his majesty's ship *Station*, captured and carried into Charleston no less than *one hundred and thirty pirates*, from whom they took *five thousand pounds*, as the share of each of the captors." See, file of newspapers in Mass. Hist. Lib. at Boston, in which many interesting particulars concerning South Carolina are contained.

which the mercantile interest loudly complained, as injurious to trade. He recommended to the assembly to consider of ways and means for sinking it, and told them they were bound in honour and justice to make it good. The Indian war had occasioned a scarcity of provisions; by the large emissions of paper money it sunk in value, and the price of produce arose to an exorbitant height. As the value of every commodity is what it will bring at market, so the value of paper money is according to the quantity of commodities it will purchase. Even gold and silver, though the universal medium of commerce, grow less precious in proportion as their quantity is increased in any country. Both rice and naval stores, however high, by doubling the quantity of paper money, though the commodities remained the same as formerly, became still much higher. The merchants and money lenders were losers by those large emissions; and the planters indebted to them, on the other hand, were gainers by them.* Hence great debates arose in the assembly about paper money, between the planting and mercantile interests. At this time the governor, however, had so much influence as to prevail with the assembly to pass a law for sinking and paying off their paper credit in three years, by a tax on lands and negroes. This act, on its arrival in England, gave great satisfaction both to the proprietors and people concerned in trade, and the governor received their thanks for his attention to the commercial interests of the country.

This compliance of the assembly with the governor's instructions from England, and the good humour in which they at present appeared to be with government, gave him

* This was not the fact. The planters by the emission of paper money became the losers; and the merchants, who had paid them off for their crops, with this medium, became the gainers. The planter, who had received paper bills for £100 specie, was now obliged to pay them off at a reduction of almost 50 per cent.; and even, when the government, with seeming justice, would redeem these bills at their nominal value, the lands and negroes of the poor agriculturist were taxed for the purpose. The unfairness of this has been already exposed in a note on the subject, at page 182 of this volume.

some faint hopes of reconciling them by degrees to the supreme jurisdiction of the proprietors. But their good temper was of short duration, and the next advices from England blasted all his hopes of future agreement. The planters finding that the tax-act fell heavy on them, began to grumble and complain of its injustice, and to contrive ways and means for eluding it, by stamping more bills of credit. The proprietors having information of this, and also of a design formed by the assembly to set a price on country commodities, and make them at such a price a good tender in law for the payment of all debts, they strictly enjoined their governor not to give his assent to any bill framed by the assembly, nor to render it of any force in the colony, before a copy of the same should be laid before them. About the same time the king, by his order in council, signified to the proprietors, that they should repeal an act passed in Carolina, of pernicious consequence to the trade of the mother country, by which a duty of ten *per cent.* was laid on all goods of British manufacture imported into that province. Accordingly this act, together with that for regulating elections, and another for declaring the right of assembly for the time being to nominate a public receiver, were all repealed, and sent to Governor Johnson in a letter, which enjoined him instantly to dissolve the present assembly and call another, to be chosen in Charlestown, according to the ancient usage and customs of the province. The proprietors considered themselves as the head of the legislative body, who had not only power to put a negative on all laws made in the colony of which they disapproved, but also to repeal such as they deemed of pernicious consequence.

Governor Johnson, sensible of the ill-humour which prevailed among the people at the proprietary government, and the ill consequences that would attend the immediate execution of his orders, summoned his council together, to take their advice about what was most proper to be done. When he communicated his orders and instructions from England, the majority of the council were astonished at them. Trott,

indeed, who was one of them, probably knew from what spring they derived their origin, and to whose advice and influence the repeal of those laws ought to be ascribed. But as the assembly were at that time deliberating about the means of paying the provincial debt contracted by the expedition against the pirates, and other contingent charges of government, it was agreed to postpone the dissolution of the house until the business then before them should be finished. However, the repeal of the duty-law being occasioned by an order from the king in council, they resolved to acquaint the assembly immediately, with the royal displeasure at that clause of the law laying a duty on all goods manufactured in Great Britain, and recommend it to them to make a new act, leaving out that clause which had given offence. Meanwhile, though great pains were taken to conceal the governor's instructions from the people, yet by some means they were divulged, and kindled violent flames among them. The assembly entered into a warm debate about the proprietors' right of repealing laws passed with the assent of their deputies. Many alleged, that the deputation given to them was like a power of attorney sent to persons at a distance, authorising them to act in their stead; and insisted, that, according to the charter, they were bound by their assent to acts, as much as if the proprietors themselves had been present, and ratified and confirmed them.

While the colony was thus harassed with fears and troubles from rigorous landlords, to enhance their misery, their savage neighbours were also now and then making incursions into their settlements, and spreading havoc among the scattered families. At this time a scalping party penetrated as far as the Euhah lands, where having surprised John Levit and two of his neighbours, they knocked out their brains with their tomahawks. They then seized Mrs. Borrows and one of her children, and carried them off with them. The child by the way, finding himself in barbarous hands, began to cry, upon which they put him to death. The distressed mother, being unable to refrain from tears

while her child was murdered before her eyes, was given to understand, that she must not weep, if she desired not to share the same fate. Upon her arrival at Augustine she would have been immediately sent to prison, but one of the Yamassee kings declared he knew her from her infancy to be a good woman, interceded for her liberty, and begged she might be sent home to her husband. This favour, however, the Spanish governor refused to grant, and the garrison seemed to triumph with the Indians in the number of their scalps. When Mr. Borrows went to Augustine to procure the release of his wife, he also was shut up in prison along with her, where he soon after died: but she survived all the hardships of hunger, sickness, and confinement, to give a relation of her barbarous treatment. After her return to Carolina, she reported to Governor Johnson, that the Huspah king, who had taken her prisoner and carried her off, informed her, he had orders from the Spanish governor to spare no white man, but to bring every negro alive to Augustine; and that rewards were given to Indians for their prisoners, to encourage them to engage in such rapacious and murderous enterprises.

By this time, Chief Justice Trott being suspected of holding a private correspondence with the proprietors, to the prejudice of the Carolineans, had incurred their hatred and resentment. Richard Allein, Whitaker, and other practitioners of the law, over whom he tyrannized, charged him with many base and iniquitous practices. No less than thirty-one articles of complaint against him were presented to the assembly, setting forth, among other things, "That he had been guilty of many partial judgments; that he had contrived many ways to multiply and increase his fees, to the great grievance of the subject, and contrary to acts of assembly; that he had contrived a fee for continuing causes from one term to another, and put off the hearing of them for years; that he took upon him to give advice in causes depending in his courts, and did not only act as counsellor in that particular, but also had drawn deeds between party

and party, some of which had been contested before him as chief justice, and in determining of which he had shown great partialities, with many more particulars; and, lastly, complaining, that the whole judicial power of the province was lodged in his hands alone, of which it was evident he had made a very ill use, he being at the same time sole judge of the courts of common pleas, king's bench, and vice-admiralty; so that no prohibition could be lodged against the proceedings of the court, he being obliged, in such a case, to grant a prohibition against himself; he was also, at the same time, a member of the council, and of consequence a judge of the court of chancery."

Those articles of complaint, though they took their rise from the bar, and might have proceeded in some measure from envy, ill-will, or resentment, were nevertheless too well grounded, and the facts contained in the charge were supported by strong evidence before the assembly. But as the judge held his commission from the proprietors, he denied that he was accountable to the assembly for any part of his conduct in his judicial capacity; and declared that he would be answerable nowhere but in England. The assembly, however, sensible that he held his commission only during good behaviour, sent a message to the governor and council, requesting they would join them in representing his partial and unjust conduct in his office to the proprietors, praying them either to remove him from his seat in the courts of justice, or at least to grant him only one jurisdiction, and the people liberty of appeal from his judgments. The governor and major part of the council, convinced of the mal-administration of the judge, agreed to join the commons in their representation. But being sensible of the great interest the chief justice had with their lordships, they judged it most prudent to send one of their counsellors to England with their memorial, that it might find greater credit and weight, and the more certainly procure redress; and Francis Yonge, a man of considerable abilities, who had been present at all their debates, was pitched upon as one

well qualified for giving their lordships a faithful account of the whole matter. Accordingly Yonge, being furnished with all the instructions, powers, and credentials, necessary to a commissioner for the aggrieved party of the colonists, set sail for England, and arrived in London early in the year 1719.

Soon after his arrival, he waited on Lord Carteret, the palatine; but as his lordship was preparing to set out on an embassy to the court of Sweden, he referred him to the other proprietors for an answer to his representation. When the proprietors met, Yonge presented to them a memorial, setting forth, "That he had been appointed by the governor and council of South Carolina, to lay before them, not only several acts of assembly passed there during their last sessions for their approbation, but also to inform them of the reasons that induced the governor and council to defer the dissolution of the assembly, in consequence of their lordships' commands; that he was instructed to show their lordships the arguments between the upper and lower houses of assembly, touching their lordships' right of repealing laws ratified and confirmed by their deputies; and presented to them a speech made by Chief Justice Trott at a general conference of both houses, together with the answer of the commons to it, and the several messages that passed between them, which he hoped would show their lordships, that no arguments or endeavours were wanting on their part, to assert the right the proprietors had of repealing laws not ratified by them.

At the same time, he was desired to request their lordships to augment their secretary's salary, to allow the members of the council so much money for the time and expense of attending the council on their service; to establish custom-house officers at Beaufort; to grant six thousand acres of land to three garrisons at Congarees, Savanna Town, and Apalachicola; and liberty of appealing from erroneous judgments in law, which at that time the people had not, the whole judicial power in all the provincial courts being

lodged in the hands of one man." Then he delivered to them a letter from Governor Johnson, the articles of complaint against Chief Justice Trott, and the joint address of the governor, council, and assembly, praying to have him removed entirely from the bench, or confined to a single jurisdiction.

This memorial, however, was far from satisfying the proprietors, some of whom inferred from it, that the people seemed to be industrious in searching for causes of dissatisfaction, and grounds of quarrel with them, with a view to skake off the proprietary authority, and renounce their allegiance. Their letters from Trott served to confirm the truth, which intimated that Yonge, though an officer of the proprietors, by mean subtlety and chicane had assisted the people in forming plausible pretences for that purpose. For three months Yonge attended the palatine's court, to give the board all possible information about the state of affairs in their colony, and to accomplish the end of his appointment. After all, he was given to understand, that the business on which he was sent was extremely disagreeable to them; that both the trouble he had taken, and the office he had accepted as agent for the people, were inconsistent with his duty as one of their deputies, bound to act agreeable to their instructions. They declared their displeasure with the members of the council who had joined the lower house in their complaints against Trott, and removed them from the board, appointing others in their place, and increasing the number of members; and told Yonge, that he also would have been deprived of his seat, but for the high respect they had for Lord Carteret, the absent palatine, whose deputy he was. With respect to Chief Justice Trott, they had too much confidence in his fidelity and capacity to remove him from his office. On the contrary, they sent him a letter thanking him for his excellent speech in defence of their right of repealing all laws made in the colony; together with a copy of the articles of complaint brought against him, on purpose to give him an opportunity of vindicating himself; at

the same time acquainting him, that it was their opinion and order, that he withdraw from the council-board whenever appeals from his judgments in the inferior court shall be brought before the governor and council as a court of chancery.

How far Governor Johnson, in their opinion, had deviated from his duty, in joining the other branches of the legislature in their representation, may be learned from the proprietors' letter, brought over to him by Yonge, which runs in the following words: "Sir, we have received and perused your letters and all your papers, delivered us by your agent Mr. Yonge; and though we are favourably inclined in all our thoughts relating to our governor, yet we must tell you, we think you have not obeyed the orders and directions given you to dissolve that assembly and call another forthwith, according to the ancient usage and custom of the province, and to publish our repeals of the acts of assembly immediately upon the receipt of our orders aforesaid; but we shall say no more on that subject now, not doubting but our governor will pay more punctual obedience to our orders for the future.

"The lords proprietors' right of confirming and repealing laws was so particular a privilege granted them by the charter, that we can never recede from it; and we do assure you, we are not a little surprised that you have suffered that prerogative of ours to be disputed.

"We have sent you herewith an instruction under our hands and seals, nominating such persons as we think fit to be of the council with you, six of whom and yourself, and no less number, to be a quorum. Upon your receipt of this we hereby require you to summon the said council, that they may qualify themselves according to law, and immediately sit upon the despatch of business. We also send you the repeal of the acts of assembly, which we order you to publish immediately upon the receipt of this. We do assure Mr. Johnson, that we will stand by him in all things that relate to the just execution of his office, and we are confident

that he will perform his duty to us, and support our power and prerogatives to the best of his abilities. If the assembly chosen according to your pretended late act is not dissolved, as we formerly ordered, and a new assembly elected, pursuant to the act formerly confirmed by the proprietors, you are forthwith commanded to dissolve that assembly, and to call another, according to the above-mentioned act; and so we bid you heartily farewell."

Such was the result of Yonge's negociation in England. Governor Johnson, who was well acquainted with the prevailing temper and discontented spirit of the people, plainly perceived, upon receiving these new orders and instructions, what difficulties would attend the execution of them. The flame was already kindled, and nothing could be imagined more likely to add fuel to it than such rigour and oppression. It is true, the governor had received authority, but he wanted power to act agreeable to their instructions. Determined, however, to comply with their commands, he summoned his council of twelve men whom the proprietors had nominated, who were, William Bull, Ralph Izard, Nicholas Trott, Charles Hart, Samuel Wragg, Benjamin de la Consiliere, Peter St. Julien, William Gibbons, Hugh Butler, Francis Yonge, Jacob Satur, and Jonathan Skrine, some of whom refused, and others qualified themselves, to serve. Alexander Skene, Thomas Broughton, and James Kinloch, members of the former council, being now left out of the new appointment, were disgusted, and joined the people. The present assembly was dissolved, and writs were issued for electing another in Charlestown, according to the custom and usage of the province. The duty-act, from which the clergy were paid, the garrisons maintained, and the public debts in general were defrayed, was repealed; the law respecting the freedom of election was also repealed, by which the colonists were obliged to have recourse to the old, inconvenient, and tumultuous manner of elections in Charlestown: the act declaring the right of the commons to nominate a public receiver was also annulled,

and declared to be contrary to the usage and custom of Great Britain. All laws respecting the trade and shipping of Great Britain, which any future assembly might pass, the governor had instructions to refuse his assent to, till approved by the proprietors. The provincial debts incurred by the Indian war and the expedition against pirates, not only remained unpaid, but no more bills of credit were allowed to be stamped, for answering those public demands. This council of twelve, instead of seven men, which was appointed, the colonists considered as an innovation in the proprietary government exceeding the power granted their lordships by their charter, and therefore subjecting them to a jurisdiction foreign to the constitution of the province. The complaints of the whole legislature against Chief Justice Trott were not only disregarded, but that man, whom they considered as an enemy to the country, was privately caressed and publicly applauded. All these things the colonists considered as aggravated grievances, and what rendered them the more intolerable was the circumstance of being deprived of all hopes of redress.

It may be thought somewhat unaccountable and astonishing, that the proprietors should have persisted in measures so disagreeable and oppressive of themselves, and so manifestly subversive of their authority and power. Many were the hardships from the climate, and the danger from savages, with which the poor colonists had to struggle; yet their landlords, instead of rendering their circumstances as easy and comfortable as possible, seemed rather bent on crossing their humours and doubling their distress. The people could now no longer regard them as indulgent fathers, concerned for the welfare of their colony, but as tyrannical legislators, that imposed more on them than they were able to bear. Was it not the duty of the proprietors to listen to their just complaints, and redress their heavy grievances? Was it not their interest to consult the internal security, and by every means promote the speedy improvement and population of their colony? What could more effectually

answer these ends, than to cultivate the esteem and preserve the affections of the people? Nothing else could render their government stable and respectable. But, after all, perhaps the troubles and miseries the colonists suffered ought to be ascribed to their lordships' shameful inattention to provincial affairs, rather than to their tyrannical disposition. Lord Carteret, the palatine, held high offices of trust under the crown, which occupied his chief study and attention. Some of the proprietors were minors, others possessed estates in England, the improvement of which engrossed their whole care and delight. Having reaped little or nothing from their American possessions, and finding them every year becoming more troublesome and expensive, it is probable they trusted the affairs of their colony to a clerk, or secretary, who was nowise interested in their prosperity and success. With this secretary Chief Justice Trott had established a correspondence, of whose wisdom and abilities the proprietors entertained the highest opinion, and in whose integrity and fidelity they placed unlimited confidence. He held of them many offices of trust and emolument, which, together with his haughty and overbearing conduct, rendered him the object of popular envy and clamour. The colonists needed indulgence from their circumstances and situation; Trott, being made totally dependent on the proprietors' will for the tenure of his office and the amount and payment of his salary, strongly supported their power and prerogative. Hence those various struggles between the proprietors and people, which were daily growing more serious and violent, and threatened totally to subvert the proprietary government.

About this time a rupture having taken place between the courts of Great Britain and Spain, a project for attacking South Carolina and the island of Providence was formed at the Havanna, and preparations were making there for the expedition. Governor Johnson, having received advice from England of this design, resolved immediately to put the province in a posture of defence. For this purpose he

summoned a meeting of council, and such members of assembly as were in town, to inform them of the intelligence he had received, and to desire their advice and assistance in case of any sudden emergency. He told them of the shattered condition of the fortifications, and urged the necessity of speedy reparations; and for this end proposed a voluntary subscription, beginning with a generous offer himself, as an example to others. He declared that one day's delay might prove fatal to the province, as they were uncertain how soon the enemy might be at their door; and recommended unanimity and despatch. The assembly replied, that a subscription was needless, as the income of the duties would be sufficient to answer the purpose intended. The governor objected, that the duty-law had been repealed, and none other yet framed in its place. To which the assembly answered, they had resolved to pay no regard to those repeals, and that the public receiver had orders from them to sue every man that should refuse to pay as that law directed. Chief Justice Trott told them, if any action or suit should be brought into his courts on that law, he would give judgment for the defendant. In short, the contest between the two houses at this meeting became warm, insomuch that the conference broke up before any thing was concluded with regard to the public safety. The assembly were obstinate, and seemed determined to hazard the loss of the province to the Spaniards, rather than yield to the council, and acknowledge the proprietors' right of repealing their laws.

Governor Johnson, however, at such a juncture, judging it prudent to be always in the best posture of defence; for uniting the strength of the province, called a meeting of the field officers of the militia, ordered them to review their regiments, and fixed a place of general rendezvous. Indeed such was the uneasy and distracted state of the colony, that the Spaniards could scarcely have attacked it at a time more seasonable for obtaining an easy conquest. At this meeting the field officers of the militia received their orders

with their usual submis sion, and called together the different regiments, on pretence of training the men to expert use of arms. But before this time the members chosen to serve in assembly, though they had not met in their usual and regular way at Charlestown, had nevertheless held several private meetings in the country, to concert measures for revolting from their allegiance. They had drawn up a form of an association for uniting the whole province in opposition to the proprietary government, which was proposed to the people at this public meeting of the militia, as an opportunity the most favourable for procuring a general subscription. The people, oppressed and discontented, with eagerness embraced the proposal, and, almost to a man, subscribed the association, promising to stand by each other in defence of their rights and privileges, against the tyranny of the proprietors and their officers. This confederacy was formed with such secrecy and despatch, that, before it reached the governor's ears, almost the whole inhabitants were concerned in it. The assembly, after having thus brought the people in general to back them, had then nothing to do but to go on, in taking such bold and vigorous steps as seemed best calculated for accomplishing their end.

CHAPTER VI.

THE members of assembly, as I already observed, having formed their resolution to revolt, and gone so far as to bring the people to stand by and support them, in spite of every obstacle determined to proceed, until they should bring themselves under the protection of the king. As they had the whole civil power to encounter, and many difficulties to surmount, it may not be improper the more particularly to mark the various steps they took to accomplish this end. United in their view by the greatness of the danger, we shall see they regularly made their attacks. They formed their outworks first at a distance, and then brought them gradually nearer; and, in short, raised none but such as afterward served to support others in the difficult progress of their future operations.

At the election of assembly in Charlestown, Trott and Rhett, who formerly had such influence and sway, were now become so obnoxious that they could not bring one man into the house. Alexander Skene, formerly excluded from the council, was elected a member of this new assembly, which was chosen on purpose to oppose the civil officers, considering himself as ill used by the proprietors, turned a zealous and active person for pulling down the tottering fabric of their government. This man, together with several other members of assembly, held frequent meetings, to consider of all their grievances, and the encouragements they had received from time to time from Britain, respecting the great end they now had in view. They re-

called to mind what had passed in the house of peers during the reign of Queen Anne, how her majesty had then ordered her attorney and solicitor-general to consider of the most effectual methods of proceeding against the charter. They knew also, that a bill had been brought into the house of commons, for reducing all charter and proprietary governments into regal ones. They had been informed that Lord Carteret, conscious of the inability of the proprietors to defend their province in the Yamassee war, had publicly applied for assistance from the British government, and that the lords of trade were of opinion, that the government of the province should belong to that power which bore the expense of its protection. They had considered all these things, and flattered themselves with the hopes, that the king would take the colony under his care as soon as they renounced allegiance to the proprietors. And as the time drew nigh in which they expected an attack from a powerful nation, they concluded that the province needed assistance of the crown at the present, more than at any time past. They had convinced the people of the manifold advantages of the British constitution, and the great happiness of those colonies which were under the immediate care and protection of the crown, insomuch that they now desired nothing more upon earth, than to enjoy the same invaluable privileges.

To these secret meetings and transactions Governor Johnson, who lived at his plantation several miles from Charlestown, was an entire stranger, until he received the following letter, bearing date November 28, 1719, and signed by Alexander Skene, George Logan, and William Blakeway. "Sir, we doubt not but you have heard of the whole province entering into an association to stand by their rights and privileges, and to get rid of the oppression and arbitrary dealings of the lords proprietors. As we always bore you the greatest deference and respect imaginable, we take this opportunity to let you know, that the committee of the people's representatives were last night appointed to

wait on you this morning, to acquaint you, that they have come to a resolution to have no regard to the proprietors' officers, nor their administration: and withal to beg, that your honour will hold the reins of government for the king, till his majesty's pleasure be known. The great value the whole country express for your honour's person, makes them desirous to have nobody but yourself to govern them; and as you must be convinced, that no persons can be more passionately fond of your government than ourselves, we hope you will not take amiss any advice given by faithful and affectionate friends; and therefore we take the liberty to tell you freely, we are of opinion that your honour may take the government upon you, upon the offer of the people, for the king, and represent to the proprietors, that rather than the whole country should be in confusion, and want a governing power, you held it for their lordships, though you were obliged to comply with the colonists, who were unanimously of opinion they would have no proprietors' government. We could wish for a longer and better opportunity to explain this matter to you; but it is impossible, for the gentlemen will be with you in two hours at farthest. We heartily wish your honour the utmost success, let it go which way it will; but beg leave to observe, that your compliance will not only be the greatest satisfaction to the province in general, but also to your humble servants."

This letter, though fraught with the highest professions of respect to the governor, he nevertheless considered as an insult; but especially the advice, which he deemed both highly derogatory to his integrity as a man, and his fidelity as a governor. The bait thrown out to appearance was specious and flattering, yet the governor had too much penetration, not to see under its false colours the naked hook. The letter, however, served to give him notice of the association, and the resolution of the people, which it was his duty by all means possible to defeat. For this purpose he hastened to town, and summoned his council, to take their advice in a case so unexpected and alarming. Meeting accidentally

with Alexander Skene, he informed him that the committee who were appointed to wait on him had changed their minds, and were gone to their respective places of abode. Governor Johnson, nevertheless, informed his council of the association, and required their advice and assistance about the most effectual methods of breaking it up, and supporting the proprietary government. He perceived that, although he was called governor, yet Trott ruled the province, and therefore resolved to do nothing without his advice, that he might be equally responsible with the rest for the ill consequences which he was apprehensive would attend their future proceedings. The council were not a little perplexed what step to take; but as the committee had altered their intention of waiting on the governor, they were of opinion that no notice should be taken of their proceedings, until the assembly should meet in a legal manner, revive the matter, and bring it regularly before them; hoping that the people, upon more cool reflection, might drop their dangerous resolution.

In the mean time the members of assembly were using their utmost diligence among the people of the province to keep them firm to their purpose, having got almost every person, except the officers of the proprietors and a few of their friends, to sign the association. All agreed to support whatever their representatives should do for disengaging the colony from the yoke of the proprietors, and putting it under the government of the king. Having thus fortified themselves by the union of the inhabitants, the assembly met on purpose to take bolder and more decisive steps: and being apprehensive that the governor would dissolve them, so soon as their proceedings reached his ears, they instantly came to the following resolutions: "First, That the several laws pretended to be repealed are still in force within the province, and could not be repealed and made void and null but by the general assembly of this province, and that all public officers and others do pay due regard to the same accordingly. Secondly, That the writs, whereby the representa-

tives here met were elected, are illegal, because they are signed by such a council as we conceive the proprietors have not a power to appoint; for that this council does consist of a greater number of members than that of the proprietors themselves, which we believe is contrary to the design and original intent of their charter, and approaching too near the method taken by his majesty and his predecessors in his plantations, whom they ought not to pretend to imitate or follow, his majesty not being confined to any number of counsellors, but as he thinks fit; but the proprietors, as subjects, we believe, are bound by their charter. Thirdly, That we the representatives cannot act as an assembly, but as a convention delegated by the people, to prevent the utter ruin of this government, if not the loss of the province, till his majesty's pleasure be known: and, lastly, That the lords proprietors have by such proceedings unhinged the frame of their government, and forfeited their right to the same; and that an address be prepared, to desire the honourable Robert Johnson, our present governor, to take the government upon him in the king's name, and to continue the administration thereof until his majesty's pleasure be known."

Agreeable to the last resolution, an address was drawn up, signed by Arthur Middleton as president, and twenty-two members of the convention. The governor having sent them a message, acquainting them that he was ready with his council to receive and order them to choose a speaker; they came to the upper house in a body, and Arthur Middleton addressed the governor in the following words: "I am ordered by the representatives of the people here present to tell you, that, according to your honour's order, we are come to wait on you: I am further ordered to acquaint you, that we own your honour as our governor, you being approved by the king; and as there was once in this province a legal council, representing the proprietors as their deputies, which being now altered, we do not look on the gen-

tlemen present to be a legal council; so I am ordered to tell you, that the representatives of the people do disown them as such, and will not act with them on any account."

The governor and council, struck with silence and astonishment at the audacious spirit of the convention, and suspecting that they were backed and supported by the voice of the people, were greatly puzzled what measures they should take to recall them to the obedience of legal authority. Some were for opposing violence to violence, and thought the best way of bringing them back to their allegiance would be to terrify them with threats and confiscations. Others were of opinion, that the defection was too general to admit of such a remedy, and that mild expostulations were more proper both for softening their minds, and convincing them of their error; and should such gentle means fail, the governor might then dissolve them, and for the present time put an end to the dispute. But, on the other hand, dangers hung over the country, and the only fund for repairing the fortifications being lost by the repeal of the general duty-law, money must be provided for the public protection. If the governor should dissolve the house, how could the province be put in a posture of defence against a Spanish invasion, with which it was threatened. If he should suffer them to sit while they had resolved that the proprietors had forfeited their right to the government, and refused on any account to act with his council, he might be chargeable with a breach of his trust. The result of their deliberations was, a message from the governor and council, desiring a conference with the house of assembly. To which they returned for answer, that they would not receive any message or paper from the governor in conjunc tion with these gentlemen he was pleased to call his council. Finding them thus inflexible and resolute, the governor was obliged to give way to the current, and therefore, in two days afterward, sent for them in his own name, and spoke to them to the following effect:

"When I sent for you the other day, I intended to have de-

sired you to have chosen your speaker, to be presented to me as usual, and then I did propose to have spoke to you in the following manner :

" Your being met together at a time when there was never more occasion for a ready despatch of public business, and a good harmony betwixt the upper and lower house ; I must recommend that to you ; and nothing will be wanting on my part to promote a good understanding betwixt the lords proprietors and the people, at present (to my great affliction) I fear too much interrupted : I must, therefore, in the first place, recommend to you, that you will without delay, or other matter intervening, fall upon proper methods for raising money for finishing the repairs of the fortifications, and providing stores of war, which are much wanted. The intelligence which I have of the designs of our enemies, which makes this work so necessary, shall be laid before you.

" I am sorry the lords proprietors have been induced (by a necessity to defend and support their just prerogatives) at this juncture to disannul some of your laws ; if they had not thought the letting those acts subsist might have rendered their right of repeal precarious, they would have suffered them still to continue. I hope from you, therefore, a respectful behaviour towards them, that we may not feel any more their displeasure in so sensible a manner, as the loss (in this time of need) of our duty-law, and which has also occasioned an injunction to me and the council, from acting with an assembly who shall dispute their lordships' undoubted right of repealing laws, and appointing officers civil and military.

" I find some are jealous and uneasy on account of rumours spread, that you design to alter the tax-act, for sinking your paper currency. Public credit ought to be sacred, and it is a standing maxim, that no state can subsist longer than their credit is maintained: I hope therefore you have no such intentions, which would put me under a necessity of doing what I have never yet done ; I mean, dis-

agreeing with you. I expect therefore you will make good what the public is answerable for, and proceed to such farther methods for paying our debts, as shall be both honourable and proper, and best adapted to our circumstances.

"The alarm from the southward, about five months since, obliged me to be in a posture of defence, and occasioned some charges, the accounts of which shall be laid before you: and I desire you will provide for the discharge of them: I think also the militia-acts want some amendments, and that you should contrive to keep a good watch in Charlestown.

"This is what I intended to have recommended to you: but Mr. Middleton's telling me, in the name of the rest, that you would not act *with*, and your surprising message since, that you will not receive any thing *from* me, in conjunction with my council, has made it necessary for me to take this occasion of talking with that plainness and freedom so extraordinary a proceeding of yours requires. And, first, I must take notice of your message, wherein you say, you own me as governor, because I am approved of by the king; but that you disown the council to be a legal one, nor will act with them on any account whatsoever; and this is subscribed by all your members: but, upon examining, I find it to be pretty dark and evasive, and seems as if you would avoid expressing in plain terms, what I have too much cause to fear is your design, I mean, to renounce all obedience to the lords proprietors: and this I cannot but think you propose from all your words and actions. You say, you acknowledge me, because I am approved of by the king; but you take no notice of my commission from the proprietors, which is what makes me governor. The confirmation of the king, only signifies his majesty's approbation of the person the lords proprietors have constituted; but it is my commission and instruction from them, that not only grants, but limits my power, and contains the rules by which I must act, and are to warrant and vouch my actions; therefore, to avoid declaring in express terms your renouncing the lords' power, and at the same time doing it in effect, is to create

perpetual doubts and disputes, and is not acting with that sincerity and plainness which ought to be used in all public debates, and especially in matters of so great concern as this is, and upon which so great consequences depend.

"I do require and demand of you, therefore, and expect you will answer me in plain and positive terms, whether you own the authority of the lords proprietors as lords of this province, and having authority to administer or authorise others to administer the government thereof; saving the allegiance of them and the people to his most sacred majesty King George? Or, whether you absolutely renounce all obedience to them, and those commissioned and authorised by them? Or, whether you admit their general power, and only dispute that particular branch of their authority, in constituting a council after the manner they have now done? If you deny their general power and authority in this province, and say, that their lordships have forfeited their charter, as Mr. Berrisford asserted, and you all acquiesced in; then I demand of you, that you signify wherein the lords have forfeited their charter, and what particular branch thereof they have broken: and I demand of you, that supposing (not granting) they have made a forfeiture of their charter, by what power do you presume to renounce their authority, and to model a government out of your own heads, before such time as, that by a court having lawful jurisdiction of the same, it shall be adjudged that the lords have made a forfeiture of their charter, and that the powers granted them are null and void? If the king is of opinion, that any corporation or society have made a forfeiture of the rights and powers granted by their charter, although his majesty may have the advice of his attorney and solicitor-general, and his judges and council learned in the law, that such a forfeiture has been made, (and this he may more reasonably depend on than any advice or assurance you can have;) yet, notwithstanding this, and his supreme authority as king, he never dispossessed the persons of the powers granted them, before a *quo warranto* or some other process had been

brought, and judgment obtained against the same. And if the king doth not assume such a power, by what authority do you assume it?

"I desire you further to consider the consequence that attends that assertion. Of the charter being forfeited, before judgment is given upon the same. For if it be so, then the forfeiture must be from the time that the fact was committed that caused the forfeiture; and then you must remember, that, by the charter, the lords have granted to them, not only the power of ordering the government, but also the lands are granted to them by the said charter; so that if there is a forfeiture of the rights and prerogatives of the government, there is also a forfeiture of their rights to the lands; and so all grants made by their authority of any lands, since the fact committed that caused the forfeiture, according to your own doctrine and assertion, must be null and void; and therefore, how many persons titles to their lands will become void, I leave you to consider. And though, it may be, you will assign some new late fact, that you say will cause such a forfeiture, by which you may think to avoid the ill consequence that attends the titles to the lands; yet know, that the facts that you assign may not be the only ones that may be thought to have made the forfeiture of their charter. And if your present assertion is true, that they may be dispossessed before a judgment; it may be, other persons may assign other causes of the forfeiture, besides those which you assign, which may have been committed many years ago; for you cannot but know there have been persons in the province, that, for several years past, have publicly asserted, that the lords have done facts, for which their charter was become forfeited. Which if so, I leave you to consider what a gate you will leave open to call in question, nay, utterly destroy, several hundreds of people's titles to their lands. And though you have most unjustly and untruly suggested to the people, to create a prejudice in them to the lords proprietors, that their lordships designed to dispute their titles to their lands; yet, by this assertion and practice, you are the

persons that will not only call in question, but effectually destroy their titles.

And if you persist in disowning the council as now authorised, then I desire you further to consider, in what capacity I can act with you, and to what purpose you pretend to sit and transact the public business of the province. You know very well I am not able to join with you in passing any law without the consent of my council; and surely you cannot pretend to pass laws without me: and what an absolute occasion there is now to pass some laws, that the province may be put in a posture of defence, and the contingent charges thereof defrayed, I leave you seriously to consider, and hope you will not lose the whole province to the enemy, for your own humours.

But I am further to tell you, that, in case you continue to deny the authority of the council, you cannot properly style yourselves the representatives of the people; for you know very well you were chosen members of assembly, pursuant to, and by virtue of the writs signed by myself and council; for it is not the people's voting for you that makes you become their representatives: the liege people of this, or any other province, have no power to convene and choose their representatives, without being authorised so to do by some writ or order coming from authority lawfully impowered. And if you pretend that the writs signed by me, as governor, were sufficient: to that I answer, that I do not pretend to any such authority, but jointly, and with the consent of my council, it being the express words of my commission; nor did I sign the writs in any other capacity than in conjunction with my council, who also signed the same. But if my signing the writs were sufficient authority for the people to choose you, then you must allow, that as the power lies solely in me to call you, it lies also solely in me to dissolve you; and therefore, if by your actions you will force me to make use of that power, I do hereby publicly protest and declare, you only must be answerable for the ill consequences that may attend such a dissolution, and for the loss of the

lives and estates of the king's subjects in this province, by any attack that may be made upon them by our public enemies the Spaniards, or from the Indians, by reason of the province's not being put into such a posture of defence as it ought, and would, if you proceeded to transact the public business under a lawful authority; and this I would have you seriously to consider of.

Notwithstanding stories that have been industriously spread to prepossess the people, that you are the only persons who stand up for their rights and privileges; by which, it may be, you have so far engaged them in your favour, that you may have their assistance to enable you to commit any act of force or violence upon the government, and the authority of the lords proprietors; yet know, and be assured, that the matters in dispute are of that consequence, that they must and will be decided by an authority in England, having lawful jurisdiction of the same; and that there it must be law and right that must justify your claims, and not the consent and approbation of the people of Carolina, who have no weight there, but the right and merit of the cause.

I must farther mention to you, that it is notoriously known, you have promoted two forms of associations, and have persuaded the people to sign them. How far you can be justified at home, behoves you to consider: but as I am satisfied no matter of such public concern ought to be carried on without my knowledge, so I do hereby require and demand of you, an attested copy of both associations; and though it may not concern me to have the names of every individual person that has signed them, yet I do insist upon it, that you do acquaint me which of your own members have signed both, or either of them, as also the names of such persons who have commissions, or hold any places civil or military under their lordships, or of such persons who practise the law in their lordships' courts, and have signed them.

To what is here demanded of you I do require your

plain and positive answer in express terms, and that you do in writing give me the same in a body, and under your hands."

This long and elaborate speech, which was also given them in writing, they were not long considering of, but soon returned with the following message; and showed him that they were neither to be shaken by persuasion, nor intimidated by threats, from their firm purpose. "We have already acquainted you, that we would not receive any message or paper from your honour, in conjunction with the gentlemen you are pleased to call your council; therefore we must now again repeat the same, and beg leave to tell you, that the paper your honour read and delivered to us, we take no notice of, nor shall we give any farther answer to it but in Great Britain."

Immediately after this they came with the following address to the governor, publicly avowing their resolution to cast off all obedience to the proprietary government, and urging and intreating him to comply with their desire, and take upon him the government of the province in the name of the king. "It is with no small concern that we find ourselves obliged to address your honour, in a matter which nothing but the absolute necessity of self-preservation could at this juncture have prevailed on us to do. The reasons are already by us made known to your honour and the world, therefore we forbear to rehearse them; but proceed to take leave to assure you, that it is the greatest satisfaction imaginable to us, to find throughout the whole country, that universal affection, deference and respect the inhabitants bear to your honour's person, and with what passionate desire they wish for a continuance of your gentle and good administration; and since we, who are intrusted with, and are the assertors of their rights and liberties, are unanimously of opinion, that no person is fitter to govern so loyal and obedient a people to his sacred majesty King George, so we most earnestly desire and intreat your honour, to take upon you the government of this province, in his ma-

jesty's name, till his pleasure shall be known; by which means, we are convinced, that this (at present) unfortunate colony may flourish, as well as those who feel the happy influence of his majesty's immediate care.

As the well-being and preservation of this province depends greatly on your honour's complying with our requests, so we flatter ourselves, that you, who have expressed so tender a regard for it on all occasions, and particularly in hazarding your own person in an expedition against the pirates, for its defence, an example seldom found in governors; so we hope, Sir, that you will exert yourself at this juncture for its support; and we promise your honour, on our parts, the most faithful assistance of persons duly sensible of your honour's great goodness, and big with the hopes and expectation of his majesty's countenance and protection. And we farther beg leave to assure your honour, that we will, in the most dutiful manner, address his most sacred majesty King George, for the continuance of your government over us, under whom we doubt not to be a happy people."

To this flattering address the governor returned the following answer; such as became his honour and trust. "I am obliged to you for your good opinion of me; but I hold my commission from the *true and absolute lords and proprietors of this province*,* who recommended me to his majesty, and I have his approbation; it is by that commission and power I act, and I know of no power or authority can dispossess me of the same, but those only who gave me those authorities. In subordination to them I shall always act, and to my utmost maintain their lordships just power and prerogatives, without encroaching on the people's rights and privileges. I do not expect or desire any favour from you, only that of seriously taking into your consideration the approaching danger of a foreign enemy, and the steps you are taking to involve yourselves and this province in anarchy and confusion."

* This is the term the charter gives them.

The representatives having now fully declared their intentions, and finding it impossible by all their art and address to win over the governor to a compliance with their measures, and to accept of the government only from his having the king's approbation, began to treat him with indifference and neglect. He, on the other hand, perceiving that neither harsh nor gentle means could recall them to their duty and allegiance, and that they became the more outrageous and ungovernable by his endeavours to this purpose, issued a proclamation for dissolving the house, and retired to the country. The representatives ordered his proclamation to be torn from the marshal's hands, and proceeded next to avowed usurpation. They met upon their own authority, and in direct opposition to that of the proprietors, and chose Colonel James Moore their governor; who was a man of a bold and turbulent disposition, and excellently qualified for being a popular leader in perilous adventures. To Governor Johnson he was no friend, having been by him removed from his command of the militia, for warmly espousing the cause of the people: to the proprietors he was an inveterate enemy. In every new enterprise he had been a volunteer, and in whatever he engaged he continued to his purpose steady and inflexible. A day was fixed by the convention for proclaiming him, in name of the king, governor of the province, and orders were issued for directing all officers civil and military to continue in their different places and employments, till they shall hear further from them.

Governor Johnson, some time before this, had appointed a day for a general review of the provincial militia; and the convention, that they might have the opportunity of the people being under arms, and ready to forward their scheme, fixed on the same day for publicly proclaiming Moore. The governor, however, having intelligence of their design, sent orders to Colonel Parris, the commander of the militia, to postpone the review to a future day. Parris, though a zealous friend to the revolution, in answer assured him his orders should be obeyed. Notwithstanding this assurance,

on the day fixed, when Governor Johnson came to town, he found to his surprise the militia drawn up in the market square, colours flying at the forts, and on board all the ships in the harbour, and great preparations making for the proclamation. Exasperated at the insults offered to his person and authority, he could scarcely command his temper and restrain his resentment. Some he threatened to chastise for flying in the face of government, to which they had sworn allegiance and fidelity. With others he coolly reasoned, and endeavoured to recall them by representing the fatal consequences that would certainly attend such rash proceedings. But advancing to Parris, who had betrayed him, he asked him, how he durst appear in arms contrary to his orders? and commanded him, in the king's name, instantly to disperse his men. Colonel Parris insolently replied, he was obeying the orders of the convention. The governor in great rage walked up towards him; upon which Parris immediately commanded his men to present, and bid him at the peril of life advance no nearer. The governor expected during this struggle, that some friends would have stood by him, especially such as held offices of profit and trust under the proprietors, or that the militia would have laid down their arms at his command: but he was disappointed; for all either stood silent, or kept firm to the standard of the convention. However, to amuse him, and prevent his taking any rash step in the heat of passion, John Lloyd, one of their party was sent, out of pretence of friendship, to walk and converse with the governor. Vain indeed were the efforts of a single arm, in so general a defection. Even Trott and Rhett, in this extremity, forsook him, and kept at a distance, the silent and inactive spectators of their masters ruined authority.*

* In contrasting the revolutions of 1719 and 1776, Dr. Ramsay makes the following appropriate remarks:—

"In the course of the 18th century, South-Carolina underwent two revolutions; the last of which took place in 1776. Several of the actors in this are yet alive, and must be struck with the resemblance of the measures

After this the members of convention attended, and, escorted by the militia, publicly marched to the fort, and there declared James Moore governor of the province in name of the king, which was followed by the loudest acclamations of the populace. Upon their return, they next proceeded to the election of twelve counsellors, of whom Sir Hovenden Walker was made president. In this, however, it is remarkable, that they assumed a right and power to themselves which they had refused to the proprietors, and

adopted by their predecessors and themselves for accomplishing these great and similar events. In both cases a well-intentioned people, alarmed for their rights, were roused to extraordinary exertions for securing them. They petitioned, in a legal channel, for a redress of their grievances; but that being refused, they proceeded to bolder measures. Before they took decisive steps from which there was no honorable retreat; they both cemented their union by an association generally signed by the inhabitants. The physical force of government in all countries rests with the governed; but from the want of union and concert, they often quietly submit to be ruled with a rod of iron or make such feeble injudicious efforts in the cause of liberty as incur the penalties of rebellion; instead of gaining the blessings of a change for the better. The case was otherwise in Carolina. In both revolutions, an honest people engaged by a solemn agreement to support each other in defence of their rights, and to yield obedience to the leaders of their own appointment. When they had bound themselves by the tie of an association, they seized their arms—took the forts and magazines into possession—and assumed the direction of the militia. A new government, without confusion or violence, virtually superseded the existing authority of the proprietary governor in one case and of the king's representative in the other. The revolutioners in both respectfully asked their former governors to join them; but from principles of honour and delicacy they declined. On their refusal they became private persons, and the people proceeded without them to organise every department of government by their own authority. The popular leaders in one case called themselves a convention of the people, and in the other a provincial congress; but in both, when the revolution was completed, they voted themselves an assembly—passed laws in the usual manner—and by manifestoes, justified their conduct to the world. In these proceedings neither faction nor party had any hand. The general interests of the great body of the settlers, were the pole star by which public measures were regulated. The people, guided neither by private views nor selfish ends, and acting in unison, eventually found their labours crowned with success; and that each change of government produced for their country a melioration of its circumstances."

made one of the principal articles of complaint against them. So that these revolutioners had now their governor, council and convention, and all of their own free election. In consequence of which the delegates met, and, in the first place, resolved to publish their declaration, to the following effect: "Whereas the proprietors of this province have of late assumed to themselves an arbitrary and illegal power, of repealing such laws as the general assembly of this settlement have thought fit to make for the preservation and defence thereof, and acted in many other things contrary to the laws of England, and the charter to them and us, freemen, granted; whereby we are deprived of those measures we had taken for the defence of the settlement, being the south-west frontier of his majesty's territories in America, and thereby left naked to the attacks of our inveterate enemies and next-door neighbours the Spaniards, from whom, through the divine providence, we have had a miraculous deliverance, and daily expect to be invaded by them, according to the repeated advices we have from time to time received from several places: And whereas, pursuant to the instructions and authorities to us given, and trust in us reposed by the inhabitants of this settlement, and in execution of the resolutions by us made, we did in due form apply ourselves in a whole body, by an address, to the honourable Robert Johnson, appointed governor of this province by the lords proprietors, and desired him, in name of the inhabitants of this province, to take upon him the government of the same, and in behalf of his majesty the king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, until his majesty's pleasure had been known, which the said governor refusing to do, exclusive of the pretended power of the lords proprietors over the settlement, has put us under the necessity of applying to some other person, to take upon him, as governor, the administration of all the affairs civil and military within the settlement, in the name and for the service of his most sacred majesty, as well as making treaties, alliances and leagues with any nation of Indians,

until his majesty's pleasure herein be further known: And whereas James Moore, a person well affected to his present majesty, and also zealous for the interest of the settlement, now in a sinking condition, has been prevailed with, pursuant to such our application, to take upon him, in the king's name, and for the king's service and safety of the settlement, the above-mentioned charge and trust: We therefore, whose names are hereunto subscribed, the representatives and delegates of his majesty's liege people and free-born subjects of the said settlement, now met in convention at Charlestown, in their names, and in behalf of his sacred Majesty George, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, in consideration of his former and many great services, having great confidence in his firm loyalty to our most gracious King George, as well as in his conduct, courage, and other great abilities; do hereby declare the said James Moore his majesty's governor of this settlement, invested with all the powers and authorities belonging and appertaining to any of his majesty's governors in America, till his majesty's pleasure herein shall be further known. And we do hereby for ourselves, in the name and on the behalf of the inhabitants of the said settlement, as their representatives and delegates, promise and oblige ourselves most solemnly to obey, maintain, assist and support the said James Moore, in the administration of all affairs civil and military within this settlement, as well as in the execution of all his functions aforesaid, as governor for his sacred majesty King George. And further, we do expect and command, that all officers both civil and military within the settlement, do pay him all duty and obedience as his majesty's governor, as they shall answer to the contrary at their utmost peril. Given under our hand, at the convention, this 21st day of December, 1719."

Governor Johnson, after this public and solemn declaration, perceiving his power totally overthrown, and the current too violent and strong for him to withstand, had little hopes of recalling them to the obedience of proprietary authority.

Still, however, he flattered himself, that such men as had usurped the government in opposition to lawful authority would not long remain in a state of union, harmony and peace among themselves. The first unpopular step of their governor might create disturbance and disaffection; the first difference among the leading men might divide them into parties: he determined to wait for such occurrences, and to improve them towards recovering his power and command. In the mean time he called together the civil officers of the proprietors, and ordered them to secure the public records, and shut up all offices against the revolutioners and their adherents.

That the proprietors in England might have notice of what had happened through a proper channel, Governor Johnson drew up a state of the whole proceedings, and transmitted it them. He told them that the colonists had long laboured under difficulties and hardships, by debts contracted in the Indian war, and in protecting their trade against pirates; that an unhappy difference had broken out between their lordships and the people, about the privileges of their charter; that some of the richest of the inhabitants had persuaded the rest, that neither they themselves nor their posterity could ever be safe in their persons, or secure in their properties, without the protection of the crown: That they had, therefore, with one accord disclaimed and renounced all obedience to their lordships, and put themselves under the care and government of the king; that he, though earnestly solicited by them, had refused to govern them in any other way, than as commissioned and appointed by the lords proprietors; that the people for that reason had shaken off his authority, and chosen another governor for themselves in name and behalf of the king; in short, that the revolution was in nowise occasioned by his imprudence or maladministration, and therefore he hoped, whatever might be the issue, that their lordships would use their interest to continue him in the government of the province. To the same purpose he wrote to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, who

were no friends to the proprietary governments in America, and waited for such a favourable season as now offered in Carolina to purchase every one of them for the crown.

In the mean time the members of the popular legislature were going on, and with all their diligence and skill regulating public affairs. The representatives of the people took a dislike to the name of a convention, as different from that of the other regal governments in America, and therefore voted themselves an assembly, and assumed the power of appointing all public officers. In place of Nicholas Trott, they made Richard Allein chief justice. Another person was appointed provincial secretary, in the room of Charles Hart. But William Rhett and Francis Yonge, by becoming obsequious to the humours of the revolutioners, secured to themselves the same offices they held from the proprietors. Colonel Barnwell was chosen agent for the province, and embarked for England, with instructions and orders to apply only to the king, to lay a state of their public proceedings before him, praying him to take the province under his immediate care and protection. A new duty-law and others for raising money to defray the various expenses of government were passed. The fortifications at Charlestown they ordered to be immediately repaired, and William Rhett, whom every one esteemed a friend to the revolution, was nominated inspector-general of the repairs. To their new governor they voted two thousand five hundred pounds, and to their chief justice eight hundred, current money, as yearly salaries. To their agent in England one thousand pounds sterling was transmitted: and to defray those and the other expenses of government, a law was passed for laying a tax on lands and negroes, to raise thirty thousand pounds Carolina money, for the service of the current year. In short, this popular assembly imposed such burdens on their constituents, as under the proprietary government would have been deemed intolerable grievances.

In consequence of the tax-act, when they began to levy those heavy taxes, Governor Johnson and some of his party

refused to pay, giving for reason, that the act was not made by lawful authority. On account of his particular circumstances, Mr. Johnson was exempted; but they resolved to compel every other person to submit to their jurisdiction, and yield implicit obedience to their laws. They forcibly seized the effects or negroes of such as refused, sold them at public auction, and applied the money for the payment of their taxes. Thus, in spite of all opposition, they established themselves in the full possession of government, both in their legislative and executive capacities.

Governor Johnson, though obliged to stand at a distance, carefully observed their progress, and was not a little mortified by their great success. He however still persisted in throwing every obstacle possible in their way: he wrote to William Rhett, who was not only the proprietors' receiver-general, but also comptroller of the customs, a letter to the following effect; informing him, That "as the people had found means to hinder all masters of ships from coming to him as the governor for clearances, and from clearing in the lawful secretary's offices, notwithstanding the laws of trade made such neglects the forfeiture of ship and cargo, and the naval officer, by his orders, did all he could do to induce them to act according to law: and as he was sensible that the defection was so general, and his authority so depressed, that he had no power left to punish them for disobedience; he therefore could think of no other way to oblige them to their duty but by stopping their obtaining clearances from the custom house officers, until they paid their duty to him as the lawful governor of the province. He therefore desired Mr. Rhett would consult his powers and instructions as surveyor and comptroller of the customs, and act in this affair as he should think agreeable to them, to the laws of trade, and to the service of his majesty, and of the lords proprietors." Indeed it must be acknowledged, had Rhett so far consulted the interest of the proprietors, as to have commanded the officers of the customs to do their duty, according to the governor's project, it would have given the revolutioners

no small trouble. They would have had the mortification to see the masters of ships disowning their authority, and going only to that office where they could obtain authentic and legal clearances. The fees due the governor and secretary would also have gone in their usual channel, which otherwise were transferred to such persons as had no just right, nor even the smallest pretensions to them. But Rhett's enmity to the governor, and his prospects of profit from the prevailing party, induced him to neglect the duties of his station. He had already joined, or at least seemed to join, the revolutioners, being determined to retain at all events his places of profit and emolument. The countenance and encouragement he had given the people, they considered as a justification of their measures; and though they had passed a vote, that no person who held an office under the proprietors should be permitted to continue in it, yet, as they found Rhett so obsequious to their views, they thought proper to dispense with it for an acquisition of such importance. They not only allowed him to continue in his former offices, but also made him lieutenant-general of the militia, and overseer to the works in repairing the fortifications. So that, instead of giving assistance to Governor Johnson for supporting the interest and power of the proprietary government, he shamefully deserted him, betrayed his trust and joined the revolutioners.

Rhett, nevertheless, to the astonishment of every one, still maintained his credit with the proprietors, and had the art to persuade them he had done all out of zeal for the service of his majesty, and for the good of the province. He wrote them two letters, giving them an account of all that had happened, and assuring them he had accepted of a commission from Mr. Moore, in order the more effectually to promote their interest, by giving him an opportunity of conversing freely with the people, and persuading them to return to their duty and allegiance. He represented the inflexibility of Governor Johnson as one source of the discontent and defection of the people, and utterly inconsistent with good

policy. He told them, that there are times when the minds of men will not bend to authority, when the rigid exertion of power defeats its end, and when lenity becomes a more efficacious remedy against disaffection to government than severity. The proprietors believed him, and such was their confidence in his honour and fidelity, that they sent him a letter expressing their approbation of his conduct, in the following words: "We have received your letters, wherein you give us a melancholy account of the present confused government of our province, and of the great consternation of the inhabitants, from the dreadful apprehension they have of a foreign invasion. But, since they have been so unfortunate as to bring themselves into so much confusion, we are not a little pleased that your zeal for the service of his majesty, and the safety of the province, has engaged you to take upon you the command of the forces; for as, by your command of the said forces, you formerly defended and saved the country from the insults of an invading enemy, so we doubt not but you will again use your utmost skill to free your same fellow-subjects from the imminent danger they at present labour under. And since you have taken upon you the same command, we earnestly intreat you, that, with the greatest application, you will continue your endeavours in that command for the safety and preservation of the province, until you shall hear farther from us: We wish you all imaginable success, and bid you heartily farewell."

In the mean time Governor Johnson received certain advice, that the Spaniards had sailed from the Havanna with a fleet of fourteen ships, and a force consisting of twelve hundred men, against South Carolina and Providence Island, and it was uncertain which of the two they would first attack. At this time of imminent danger the governor again attempted to recall the people to subjection and obedience, and sent the following letter to the convention. "I flatter myself that the invasion which at present threatens the province, has awakened a thought in you of the necessity there is of the forces acting under lawful authority and commission.

The inconveniences and confusion of not admitting it are so obvious, I need not mention them. I have hitherto borne the indignities put upon me, and the loss I sustain by being out of my government, with as much temper as the nature of the thing will admit of, till such time as his majesty's pleasure shall be known. But to have another man to assume my authority when danger threatens the province and action is expected, and to be deprived of the opportunity of serving the public in my station, as I am indispensably bound to do upon such occasions, I being answerable to the king for any neglect regarding the welfare of the province, is what I cannot patiently endure. I am willing with my council to consult and advise with you for the good and safety of the country in this time of imminent danger, as a convention of the people, as you first called yourselves; nor do I see, in this present juncture of affairs, any occasion for formality in our proceedings, or that I explain by whose authority I act in grants of commissions or other public orders. Mr. Moore's commission you have given him does not pretend to say that it is derived from the king. You have already confessed I am invested with some authority of which you approve, and that is enough. What I insist upon is, to be allowed to act as governor, because I have been approved of by the king. I do not apprehend there is any necessity of doing any thing at present but what relates to military affairs; and I do believe people will be better satisfied, more ready to advance necessaries, to trust the public, and obey my commands, by virtue of the king's authority which I have, if left to their liberty, than the orders of any other person in the province; and in a short time we may expect his majesty's pleasure will be known. If my reasons have not the weight with you I expect they should, you ought at least to put it to the vote, that, if a majority should be against it, I may have that to justify myself to the king and the world, who ought to be satisfied that I have done all I can for serving the country, and discharging the duty of my station."

By this letter Governor Johnson thought to alarm and ter-

rify the people, by representing the dangerous consequences of military operations under unlawful authority; but they remained firm to their purpose, and the convention, without taking any notice of it, continued to do business with Mr. Moore as they had begun. Sir Hovenden Walker, the president of their council, being disgusted at their proceedings, left them and retired to his plantation; but they chose Richard Allein in his stead, and proceeded to concert measures for the public defence. They proclaimed the martial law, and ordered all the inhabitants of the province to Charlestown for its defence. All the officers of the militia accepted their commissions from Mr. Moore, and engaged to stand by him against all foreign enemies. For two weeks the provincial militia were kept under arms at Charlestown, every day expecting the appearance of the Spanish fleet; which they were informed had sailed from the Havanna. Happily for them, to acquire possession of both sides of the Gulf of Florida, and secure the navigation through this stream, the Spaniards had resolved first to attack Providence, and then to proceed against Carolina: but by the conduct and courage of Captain Rogers, at that time governor of the island, they met with a sharp repulse at Providence, and soon after they lost the greatest part of their fleet in a storm.

The Spanish expedition having thus proved abortive, the Flamborough man of war, commanded by Captain Hildesley, returned to her station at Charlestown from Providence Island. About the same time his majesty's ship Phœnix, commanded by Captain Pierce, arrived from a cruise. The commanders of these two men of war were caressed by both parties, but they publicly declared for Governor Johnson as the magistrate invested with legal authority. Charles Hart, secretary of the province, by orders from the governor and council, had secreted and secured the public records, so that the revolutioners could not obtain possession of them. The clergy refused to marry without a licence from Governor Johnson, as the only legal ordinary of the province. These inconveniences

having begun to operate, rendered several of the people more cool in their affection for the popular government. At this juncture Governor Johnson, with the assistance of the captains and crews of the ships of war, made his last and boldest effort for subjecting the colonists to his authority. He brought up the ships of war in front of Charlestown, and threatened their capital with immediate destruction, if they any longer refused obedience to legal authority. But the people having both arms in their hands for defence, and forts in their possession to which they could retreat, bade defiance to his power, and showed him plainly that they were neither to be won by flattery, nor terrified by threats, to submit their necks any more to the proprietary yoke; and therefore, for the future, Governor Johnson dropped all thoughts of making any more attempts for that purpose.*

Nicholas Trott now observing the frame of the proprietary government totally unhinged, and a rival judge planted in his room, resolved to return to England. But before he embarked he wrote to Governor Johnson, acquainting him with his resolution, and promising, if he would contribute towards defraying his expenses, he would give the proprietors such a favourable account of his conduct and services, as would ensure to him the continuance of his office. But the governor being no stranger to the character of the judge, and being con-

* In the Boston News of the 13th of May, 1721, we find the following account of this transaction. "General Nicolson, our governour, not being arrived, who is daily expected, we labor at present under some unhappy circumstances. Major Johnson, our late governour, by and through the persuasion of the Captains of his majesty's ships of war, the Flamborough and Phœnix, with some of the inhabitants, with about one hundred men, on Tuesday last, drew up under arms at the backside of the town, toward the fort to surprise it, in order to reinstate him into the government. But Colonel Moore, our present governour, being apprised of it, alarmed the whole country in his behalf, and ordered two great guns from the said fort, to be fired over Major Johnson's men's heads, who being scared, wheeled to the right and marched to Colonel Rhett's Point, till evening, and then dispersed. Major Johnson, with his council, promising not to disturb the government any more, were admitted into the town, but if they should, Colonel Moore is prepared for to oppose them."

vinced that both the revolt of the people, and subversion of government, were in a great measure to be ascribed to his pernicious policy and secret correspondence with his friend the secretary to the proprietors, disdainfully rejected his interest and friendship. To which disrespect for the judge, however, Mr. Johnson attributed many of the injurious suspicions the proprietors entertained of his honour and fidelity, and that shameful neglect with which he was afterward treated by them. They had written him no answer to his letters respecting the violent steps the people had taken, or ever informed him whether his conduct during those popular commotions had met with their approbation or disapprobation. Some of them even alleged that he was privy to the designs of the malcontents; and gave them too much countenance and indulgence. But every principle of honor, duty and interest forbade such a connivance, and the upright and respectable character he maintained, rendered such suspicions groundless and unmerited. That he should join with a disaffected multitude in schemes of opposition, to divest himself of his government, was a thing scarcely to be supposed. That he should first wink at the subversion of the proprietary government, and afterward refuse to govern them for the king, when solicited so to do by the representatives and whole body of the people, was a thing very improbable. When he arrived in the province, he found the inhabitants discontented and unhappy, but little suspected then they had any views of renouncing their allegiance to the proprietors; and the various arts the people used to conceal from him their designs, were proofs they had every thing to fear, and nothing to hope for from their governor. The many attempts made to defeat their measures were also evidences of his fidelity to their lordships, and firmness in support of their government. He indeed differed with Trott and Rhett, the two favourites of the proprietors, and perhaps to this, among other causes, the neglect with which he was treated by their lordships may be ascribed. For as they discovered on all occasions such a partial regard to these

men, and placed such unlimited confidence in them, the person who differed from them, however fair and unblemished his character, however firmly attached to their interest, was not likely in such circumstances of trouble and difficulty, to escape all injurious suspicions. We have blamed the proprietors in many respects with regard to the management of their colony, and we cannot think them worthy of praise in withdrawing their countenance and friendship from a governor, who manifested such zeal and resolution in support of their authority. Being equally subject to the laws of their country with the Carolineans over whom they ruled, their power was likely to be feeble, even when exercised in the most prudent and gentle manner; but more especially when executed with rigour. British subjects in general abhor oppression, even from a supreme, and it could scarcely be expected they would tamely submit to it, from a subordinate jurisdiction.

In the mean time the agent for Carolina had procured a hearing from the lords of the regency and council in England, the king being at that time in Hanover; who gave it as their opinion, that the proprietors had forfeited their charter, and ordered the attorney-general to take out a *scire facias* against it. In consequence of which, in September 1720, they appointed General Francis Nicolson provisional governor of the province, with a commission from the king. Nicolson was a man possessed of all the honourable principles of a good soldier. He was generous, bold, and steady. He had been governor of several different colonies, and it was thought his knowledge and experience in provincial affairs would render him well qualified for the important trust. He knew his duty as commander and chief, and was afraid of neither dangers nor difficulties in the execution of it; a warm friend to the king, and deeply concerned for the prosperity of his country: scarcely could they have pitched upon a man more fit to govern the province in such a confused and miserable state.

Upon a review of those past transactions, and the various

causes which concurred for bringing about this event, which I have narrated the more fully and circumstantially on account of the interesting nature and important consequences of the change, we may observe, that although the conduct of the Carolineans during this violent struggle cannot, strictly speaking, be deemed legal, equitable and just, yet necessity, which has no law, and self-preservation, the most powerful principle of action, both strongly plead in their vindication. When the proprietors first applied to the king for a grant of this large territory, at that time occupied by heathens, it is said they were excited thereto by their zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith; yet it is now plain that they have either used no endeavours for that purpose, or they have been utterly ineffectual. The Society for the propagation of the Gospel have indeed employed and supported missionaries for the conversion of those heathens; yet it is a lamentable truth, that their best endeavours have been vastly inadequate to the extent of the work, and therefore their success has proved small and inconsiderable. The proprietors by their charter were empowered to build churches and chapels within the bounds of their province for divine worship; yet they have left the burden of this work entirely to the inhabitants, who have received no encouragement nor assistance, except from the incorporated society, toward its accomplishment. They were empowered by their charter to erect castles and forts for the protection and defence of the colony; but all those the people have also been obliged to raise at their own expense. By the charter his majesty saved to himself, his heirs and successors, the sovereign dominion of the province, and the faith and allegiance of his subjects, the inhabitants of it, declaring them to be the liege people of the crown of England; yet the proprietors have assumed to themselves a despotic authority in repealing and abrogating, by themselves alone, laws made by the assembly, and ratified by their deputies in Carolina. They not only tyrannized over the poor colony, but also employed and

protected officers ten times more tyrannical than themselves. When the whole legislature complained of Chief Justice Trott, they paid no regard to their complaints, and absolutely refused to circumscribe his jurisdiction, or remove him from the bench. In times of imminent danger, when the colony applied to them for assistance, they were either unable or unwilling to bear the expense of its protection. When the assembly allotted the Indian lands obtained by conquest for the encouragement of settlers, to strengthen the provincial frontiers, the proprietors claimed the sole right of disposing of those lands, and frustrated their plans of public security. When the trade of the province was infested and ruined by pirates, they could neither obtain a force sufficient to extirpate them, nor a confirmation of their laws made for defraying the expense of such expeditions as the colony fitted out against them. The current money of the province, stamped for answering its public exigences, was, at the request of the merchants of London, cried down and cancelled. In short, the people saw no end of troubles and dangers. Sad exigence dictated the necessity of some remedy against their political evils. No remedy under heaven appeared to them so proper and effectual as that of throwing themselves under the immediate care and protection of the crown of Great Britain. For under the excellent constitution of England, where the supreme power was both able and willing to protect them against every enemy, they evidently perceived they could only live happy and secure; therefore, sick of the feeble proprietary government, the people, after many violent struggles and convulsions, by one bold and irregular effort entirely shook off the yoke, and a revolution, fruitful of happy consequences, took place, to their great relief and unspeakable satisfaction.

The proprietors, after long trial and frequent amendments, now finding that fine-spun system, by which they flattered themselves with having avoided the inconveniences and supplied the defects of the English form of government,

useless and impracticable, were at length convinced, that it was a much easier thing to find fault with the constitution of Old England than to mend it. They now perceived that all forms of government must be made for men as they really are, and not for them as they ought to be, and that it was impossible for the wisest legislators upon earth to mould men into any form they pleased by laws and regulations. From the first settlement of this colony, one perpetual struggle has subsisted between the proprietors and possessors of the province. A division somewhat similar to that of the court and country parties in England, early sprung up in the settlement, and kept it in continual ferment and agitation. The exertions of proprietary power and prerogatives, the people considered as inconsistent with their rights and privileges; hence they became turbulent and seditious, and were seldom satisfied with their governors in their public capacity, however esteemed and beloved as private men. The hands of government were always weak, and the instructions and regulations received from England were, for the most part, ill adapted to the local circumstances of the people, and the first state of colonization. The palatines in England and Germany, whose jurisdiction and authority have been established by time, and whose governments have acquired firmness and stability, would probably have deemed this usurpation illegal and rebellious, and punished the authors and abettors of it. No doubt a firm yet moderate opposition to the measures of government in defence of the rights and liberties of the people, differs as much from usurpation, as a wholesome remedy to a disordered constitution differs from deadly poison. But the great distance, dangerous circumstances, and complicated hardships of the Carolineans; the negligence, bad policy, and tyranny of the proprietors; all concurred to render their usurpation not only excusable, but absolutely necessary. The revolution in England had exemplified and confirmed the doctrine of resistance, when the executive magistrate presumes to violate the fundamental laws, and subvert the constitution of the nation. The pro-

prietors had done acts, which the lords in regency had declared amounted to a forfeiture of their charter, and had ordered a writ of *scire facias* to be taken out, for repealing their patent and rendering the grant void and null. By which means all political connexion between the proprietors and people of Carolina was now entirely dissolved, and a new relation formed, the king having taken the province under his immediate care and protection, and made it a part of the British empire.

About the beginning of the year 1721, Francis Nicolson arrived in Carolina, and having the sanction of the British government for his appointment, Mr. Johnson acquiesced in his authority, and made no more efforts in behalf of the lords proprietors. The people in general congratulated one another on the happy change, and received General Nicolson with the most uncommon and extravagant demonstrations of joy. The voice of murmur and discontent, together with the fears of danger and oppression, were now banished from the province. Happy under the royal care, they resolved to forget all former animosities and divisions, and bury all past offences in eternal oblivion. The only contention now remaining was, who should be the most faithful subjects of his majesty, and the most zealous in promoting the union, peace, and prosperity of the settlement. From a confused and distracted state they now looked upon themselves as happily delivered, and anticipated in imagination all the blessings of freedom and security, followed by industry and plenty, approaching, and as it were ready to diffuse their happy influence over the country.

Soon after his arrival, Governor Nicolson issued writs for the election of a new assembly, who now entered with great temper and cheerfulness on the regulation of provincial affairs. They chose James Moore, their late popular governor, speaker of the house, of whom the governor declared his entire approbation. The first business they engaged in, was to make an act, declaring they recognised and acknowledged his sacred majesty King George to be the right-

ful sovereign of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and of all the dominions and provinces belonging to the empire, and in particular his undoubted right to the province of Carolina. All actions and suits at law commenced on account of the late administration of James Moore by particular persons, creating misunderstandings and animosities among the people, were declared void and null, till his majesty's pleasure touching such administration shall be known; but all judicial proceedings under the same administration were confirmed; which acts were at this time judged proper and necessary for establishing harmony and tranquillity among the inhabitants. The two parties formerly subsisting, the one composed of a few adherents to Governor Johnson, and the other of the followers of James Moore, Nicolson had the good fortune to unite, and, by the wisdom and equity of his administration, to render both equally happy and contented under the royal government and protection.

Before Governor Nicolson left England, a suspension of arms between Great Britain and Spain had been published, and, by the treaty of peace which afterward took place, it was stipulated and agreed, that all subjects and Indians living under their different jurisdictions should cease from acts of hostility. Orders were sent out to Don Antonia Navidez, governor of Florida, to forbear molesting the Carolineans; and the British governor had also instructions to cultivate the friendship and good-will of the Spanish subjects and Indians of Florida. In consequence of which, Governor Nicolson, who was no stranger to the manners of savages, resolved to apply himself with great zeal and spirit to the regulation of Indian affairs, and to enter into treaties of friendship and alliance with the different tribes around the settlement. As most of their troubles from Indians had been occasioned by Europeans taking possession of lands claimed by them, without their permission or consent; to prevent quarrels and mischief, the first object that demanded his attention was to fix the limits and extent of their territories, and then to forbid encroachments on their hunting

grounds. With these views he sent a message to the Cherokees, (a powerful nation, computed at this time to consist of no less than six thousand bowmen,) acquainting them, that he had presents to make them, and would meet them at the borders of their territories, to hold a general congress with them, in order to treat of mutual friendship and commerce. They rejoiced at a proposal which plainly implied they were a free and respectable people, and immediately the chiefs of thirty-seven different towns set out to meet him.

At this congress the governor having made them several presents, and smoked the pipe of peace with them, marked the boundaries of the lands between them and the English settlers. He regulated all weights and measures, that justice might be done them in the way of traffic. He appointed an agent to superintend their affairs; and, to unite them under a common head, proposed to nominate one warrior as commander and chief of the whole nation, before whom all complaints were to be laid, and who was to acquaint the governor with every injury done them. With the consent of all present Wrosetasatow was declared chief warrior of the Cherokee nation, with full power to punish all guilty of depredations and murders, and to obtain satisfaction for every injury done to Indians from the British settlers. After which the Indians returned to their towns, highly pleased with their generous brother and new ally. The governor then proceeded to conclude another treaty of commerce and peace with the Creeks, who were also at that time a numerous and formidable nation. He likewise appointed an agent to reside among them, whose business was to regulate Indian affairs in a friendly and equitable manner, and fixed on Savanna river as the boundary of their hunting lands, beyond which no settlements were to extend. Such negociations were in many respects useful and important; for when Europeans take possession of lands contrary to the inclination, and without the permission and consent of these free and independent nations who claimed them as their property, it

would puzzle a wise man to vindicate their tenure on any principles of equity and justice.

Having now secured the province as well as possible against external foes, Governor Nicolson turned his attention next to internal regulations, particularly to such as respected the religious instruction of the people. For though he was bred a soldier, and was profane, passionate and headstrong himself, yet he was not insensible of the great advantage of religion to society, and contributed not a little to its interest in Carolina, both by his public influence and private generosity. The number of inhabitants in each parish being considerably increased, it was found necessary to enlarge several churches for their accommodation. The inhabitants of St. Paul's parish, many of whom having had their houses burnt, and otherwise suffered heavy losses in the Yamassee war, were obliged to apply to the public for assistance in this laudable design. The parish of St. George was separated and taken out of that of St. Andrew's by an act of assembly, and a new church was built at a small village called Dorchester, by public allowance and private contributions. The inhabitants in and about Georgetown, who had long lived without the benefit of public worship, insomuch that the appearance of religion among them had almost entirely vanished, claimed particular attention. To erect a church in this quarter the governor proposed a private subscription, and set the example by largely contributing towards the public institution. He made application to the Society in England for propagating the Gospel, and they supplied the province with clergymen, giving each of them a yearly allowance over and above the provincial salary. As no public schools had yet been instituted for the instruction of youth in the principles of virtue and religion, the governor urged also the usefulness and necessity of such provincial establishments. It was alleged, that the want of early instruction was one of the chief sources of impiety and immorality, and if they continued any longer to neglect the rising

generation, piety and Christianity would insensibly decay, and they would soon have a race of white people in the country equally ignorant as the brown Indians. Animated by the example, and assisted by the generosity of their governor, the colonists therefore in good earnest engaged in providing seminaries for the religious education of youth. Besides general contributions, several particular legacies were also left for this purpose. Mr. Whitmarsh left five hundred pounds to St. Paul's parish, for founding a free school in it. Mr. Ludlam, the society's missionary at Goose-creek, bequeathed all his estate, which was computed to amount to two thousand pounds Carolina currency, for the same purpose. Richard Beresfords, by his will, bequeathed the annual profits of his estate to be paid to the vestry of St. Thomas' parish in trust, until his son, then eight years of age, should arrive at the age of twenty-one years; directing them to apply one-third of the yearly profits of this estate for the support of one or more schoolmasters, who should teach reading, accounts, mathematics, and other liberal learning; and the other two-thirds for the support, maintenance, and education of the poor of that parish. The vestry accordingly received from this estate six thousand five hundred pounds Carolina money, for promoting those pious and charitable purposes. The society in England sent out teachers, money and books, and assisted greatly, by their zeal and bounty, towards the religious instruction of the people. So much must be said for the honour of Governor Nicolson, whose liberality was conspicuously displayed in behalf of those religious institutions, and whose example excited that spirit of emulation among the people for promoting them. In Charlestown, and in several other parishes in the country, public schools were built and endowed during his government, and every friend to knowledge and virtue, every well-wisher to posterity, seemed to promise themselves the greatest advantages from such wise and public-spirited designs.

Though religion, rightly understood and generally prac-

tised, is productive of the most salutary and beneficial consequences to society, yet nothing has a more pernicious influence than mistaken notions of it. Of all kinds of delusion, religious enthusiasm is the most deplorable, and has often been attended with the most melancholy and dismal effects. By abusing the best things, they may be made the innocent occasion of the worst. Many calamities have happened in the world, even on account of religion, yet the fatal consequences ought not to be charged to that divine institution which naturally breathes benevolence, gentleness, and peace, but to the ignorance and corruption of human nature, which pervert and abuse it. Enthusiasts generally agree in two articles: they disclaim the power and authority of the civil magistrate, and mistake their own wild fancies, the fruits of a distempered brain, for the impulses of the Divine Spirit, both of which are big with the most fatal consequences to society. The desperate fanatic Venner, in the reign of Charles II., was not more transported with religious frensy and madness, than an unfortunate family in Carolina at this time happened to be. For the credit of the province, it were to be wished that such an incident lay buried in eternal oblivion; but history claims the privilege of exhibiting examples of different kinds for public instruction. If good examples serve as a spur to stimulate men to virtue and religion, bad ones, on the contrary, may also serve like beacons upon a rock, to warn men of danger and delusion.

"The family of Dutartre, consisting of four sons and four daughters, were descendants of French refugees, who came into Carolina after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. They lived in Orange-quarter, and though in low circumstances always maintained an honest character, and were esteemed by their neighbours persons of blameless and irreproachable lives. But at this time a strolling Moravian preacher happening to come to that quarter where they lived, insinuated himself into their family, and partly by conversation, and partly by the writings of Jacob Behman, which he

put into their hands, filled their heads with wild and fantastic ideas. Unhappily for the poor family, those strange notions gained ground on them, insomuch that in one year they began to withdraw themselves from the ordinances of public worship, and all conversation with the world around them, and strongly to imagine they were the only family upon earth who had the knowledge of the true God, and whom he vouchsafed to instruct, either by the immediate impulses of his spirit, or by signs and tokens from heaven. At length it came to open visions and revelations. God raised up a prophet among them, like unto Moses, to whom he taught them to hearken. This prophet was Peter Rombert, who had married the eldest daughter of the family when a widow. To this man the author and governor of the world deigned to reveal, in the plainest manner, that the wickedness of man was again so great in the world, that, as in the days of Noah, he was determined to destroy all men from off the face of it, except one family whom he would save for raising up a godly seed upon earth. This revelation Peter Rombert was sure of, and felt it as plain as the wind blowing on his body, and the rest of the family, with equal confidence and presumption, firmly believed it.

A few days after this, God was pleased to reveal himself a second time to the prophet, saying, "Put away the woman whom thou hast for thy wife, and when I have destroyed this wicked generation, I will raise up her first husband from the dead, and they shall be man and wife as before, and go thou and take to wife her youngest sister, who is a virgin, so shall the chosen family be restored entire, and the holy seed preserved pure and undefiled in it." At first the father, when he heard of this revelation, was staggered at so extraordinary a command from heaven; but the prophet assured him that God would give him a sign, which accordingly happened; upon which the old man took his youngest daughter by the hand, and gave her to the wise prophet immediately for his wife, who without further ceremony took the damsel and deflowered her. Thus for some time they con-

tinued in acts of incest and adultery, until that period which made the fatal discovery, and introduced the bloody scene of blind fanaticism and madness.

Those deluded wretches were so far possessed with the false conceit of their own righteousness and holiness, and of the horrid wickedness of all others, that they refused obedience to the civil magistrate, and all laws and ordinances of men. Upon pretence that God commanded them to bear no arms, they not only refused to comply with the militia law, but also the law for repairing the highways. After long forbearance, Mr. Simmons, a worthy magistrate, and the officer of the militia in that quarter, found it necessary to issue his warrants for levying the penalty of the laws upon them. But by this time Judith Dutartre, the wife of the prophet obtained by revelation, proving with child, another warrant was issued for bringing her before the justice to be examined, and bound over to the general sessions, in consequence of a law of the province, framed for preventing bastardy. The constable having received his warrants, and being jealous of meeting with no good usage in the execution of his office, prevailed on two or three of his neighbours to go along with him. The family observing the constable coming, and being apprized of his errand, consulted their prophet, who soon told them that God commanded them to arm and defend themselves against persecution, and their substance against the robberies of ungodly men; assuring them at the same time that no weapon formed against them should prosper. Accordingly they did so, and laying hold of their arms, fired on the constable and his followers, and drove them out of their plantation. Such behaviour was not to be tolerated, and therefore Captain Simmons gathered a party of militia, and went to protect the constable in the execution of his office. When the deluded family saw the justice and his party approaching, they shut themselves up in their house, and firing from it like furies, shot Captain Simmons dead on the spot, and wounded several of his party. The militia returned the fire, killed one woman within the

house, and afterward forcibly entering it, took the rest prisoners, six in number, and brought them to Charlestown.

At the court of general sessions, held in September 1724, three of them were brought to trial, found guilty, and condemned. Alas! miserable creatures, what amazing infatuation possessed them! They pretended they had the Spirit of God leading them to all truth, they knew it and felt it: but this spirit, instead of influencing them to obedience, purity and peace, commanded them to commit rebellion, incest, and murder. What is still more astonishing, the principal persons among them, I mean the prophet, the father of the family, and Michael Boneau, never were convinced of their delusion, but persisted in it until their last breath. During their trial they appeared altogether unconcerned and secure, affirming that God was on their side, and therefore they feared not what man could do unto them. They freely told the incestuous story in open court in all its circumstances and aggravations, with a good countenance, and very readily confessed the facts respecting their rebellion and murder, with which they stood charged, but pled their authority from God in vindication of themselves, and insisted they had done nothing in either case but by his express command.

As it is commonly the duty of clergymen to visit persons under sentence of death, both to convince them of their error and danger, and prepare them for death by bringing them to a penitent disposition; Alexander Garden, the Episcopal minister of Charlestown, to whom we are indebted for this account, attended those condemned persons with great diligence and concern. What they had affirmed in the court of justice, they repeated and confessed to him in like manner in the prison. When he began to reason with them, and to explain the heinous nature of their crimes, they treated him with disdain. The motto was, Answer him not a word; who is he that should presume to teach them, who had the Spirit of God speaking inwardly to their souls. In all they had done, they said they had

obeyed the voice of God, and were now about to suffer martyrdom for his religion. But God had assured them, that he would either work a deliverance for them, or raise them up from the dead on the third day. These things the three men continued confidently to believe, and notwithstanding all the means used to convince them of their mistake, persisted in the same belief until the moment they expired. At their execution they told the spectators with seeming triumph, they should soon see them again, for they were certain they should rise from the dead on the third day.

"With respect to the other three, the daughter Judith being with child, was not tried, and the two sons, David and John Dutartre, about eighteen and twenty years of age, having been also tried and condemned, continued sullen and reserved, in hopes of seeing those that were executed rise from the dead, but being disappointed, they became, or at least seemed to become, sensible of their error, and were both pardoned. Yet not long afterward one of them relapsed into the same snare, and murdered an innocent person, without either provocation or previous quarrel, and for no other reason, as he confessed, but that God had commanded him so to do. Being a second time brought to trial, he was found guilty of murder and condemned. Mr. Garden attended him again under the second sentence, and acknowledged, with great appearance of success. No man could appear more deeply sensible of his error and delusion, or could die a more sincere and hearty penitent on account of his horrid crimes. With great attention he listened to Mr. Garden, while he explained to him the terms of pardon and salvation proposed in the Gospel, and seemed to die in the humble hopes of mercy, through the all-sufficient merits of a Redeemer."

Thus ended that tragical scene of fanaticism, in which seven persons lost their lives, one was killed, two were murdered, and four executed for the murders. A signal and melancholy instance of the weakness and frailty of human

nature, and to what giddy heights of extravagance and madness an inflamed imagination will carry unfortunate mortals. It is hard for the wisdom of men to conceive a remedy for a distemper such as religious infatuation. Severity and persecution commonly add strength to the contagion, and render it more furious. Indulgence and lenity might perhaps prove more efficacious, as the swellings of frensy would in time subside, in proportion as they exceed the bounds of nature. Had they given this unhappy family time for cool thought and reflection, it is not improbable that those clouds of delusion which overspread their minds might have dispersed, and they might have returned to a sense of their frailty and error. But it belongs to the civil power to prohibit wild enthusiasts and mad visionaries from spreading doctrines among vulgar people, destructive of civil order and public peace. The majority of mankind every where are ignorant and credulous, and therefore are objects of compassion, and ought to be protected against the baleful influence of such men as seduce them from their duty and subjection to legal authority, by poisoning their minds with notions hurtful to themselves and others.

About this time the number of white inhabitants, including men, women, and children, was computed to amount to fourteen thousand, an increase, in the space of fifty-four years after the arrival of the first colony, very small and inconsiderable, and occasioned, no doubt, both by the unhealthiness of the climate and by the discouragements and troubles which prevailed during the proprietary government. The province now furnished the inhabitants with provisions in abundance, and exported what it could spare to the West Indies. The white inhabitants lived frugally, as luxury had not yet crept in among them, and, except a little rum and sugar, tea and coffee, were contented with what their plantations afforded. Maize and Indian pease seemed congenial with the soil and climate: and as they had been cultivated by the savages for provision, they were found also to be excellent food for European labourers, and more wholesome

and nourishing than rice. Maize delights not to grow on a watery soil, but on dry and loose land, such as the higher spots on the maritime parts of the province. As the use of the plough could not be introduced until the lands were cleared of the roots of trees, to prepare a field for planting it great labour was requisite. They commonly made ridges with the hoe about five feet asunder, upon the top of which they planted the seed three inches deep. One gallon of maize will sow an acre, which, with skilful management on good lands, will yield in favourable seasons from thirty to fifty bushels. While it grows it requires to be frequently weeded, and the earth carefully thrown up about the root of the plant, to facilitate its progress. As it rises high, at the root of it the Indian pease are usually planted, which climb up its stalk like a vine, so that the lands yield a double crop. From the stem of maize large blades spring, which the planters carefully gather, and which, when properly cured, the horses or cattle will prefer before the finest hay. These articles, maize and Indian pease, together with the Spanish potatoes, are the chief subsistence of their slaves, consisting chiefly of negroes and a few Indians, and who, at this time, men, women, and children, amounted to between sixteen and twenty thousand.

In the year 1724, four hundred and thirty-nine slaves, as also British goods and manufactures of different kinds, to the amount of between fifty and sixty thousand pounds sterling, were imported into the province. In exchange for these slaves and commodities, eighteen thousand barrels of rice, and about fifty-two thousand barrels of pitch, tar, and turpentine, together with deer-skins, furs, and raw silk, were exported to England. This trade was carried on almost entirely in British ships, and employed a number of hands. The Carolineans also traded to the West Indies, and several small ships and sloops were employed in carrying provisions, lumber, staves, and naval stores to these islands, which they bartered for sugar, rum, molasses, coffee, cotton, and Spanish gold and silver. To New England, New York, and

Pennsylvania, they sent some rice, hides, deer-skins, tar and pitch, which they exchanged for flour, salt fish, fruit, beer, and cider.

All gold and silver that came into the province from the West Indies they commonly sent into Britain, to answer the demands against them; and bills of credit continued increasing and circulating, for the convenience of domestic commerce. Forty thousand pounds were issued during Nicolson's government, over and above former emissions, by which increase the exchange with Britain, and the price of produce arose in one year from five to six hundred *per cent.* This has never failed to be the consequence of issuing large quantities of paper money in Carolina: for whenever this currency was permitted to increase beyond what was necessary for the purposes of commerce, it sunk in value, and proportionably increased the nominal price of provisions and labour; and of course should it by any accident be diminished, the price would again fall. Besides this, when the imports happened to exceed the exports, the great demand for bills of exchange raised the price of them, and helped to increase the depreciation of the current money of the province.

Among other traders, at this time, Othneal Beale commanded a ship in the Carolina trade; and while sailing from Charlestown to London, not being provided with a Mediterranean pass, he was taken by an Algerine rover, who determined to carry him to Barbary, and for this purpose took the English sailors on board, and manned Captain Beale's ship with Algerines, giving them orders to follow him to the Mediterranean sea. Soon after, a storm arising in the night separated the two ships, and Captain Beale being the only person on board that understood navigation, resolved to avail himself of the advantage, and accordingly, instead of sailing for Africa, steered directly for England. Upon his arrival the Algerine sailors were surprised, but not at all displeased; they even confessed to their ambassador the kind usage they had

received; upon which Captain Beale had all he lost returned by agreement, together with thanks for his humanity. This bold adventure likewise procured the captain the honour of an introduction to the king, who expressed a desire of seeing him, and ordered Lord Carteret, then secretary of state, to make him a handsome present on the occasion. This memorable anecdote being published, served to mark him for a man of address and courage in Carolina, where he afterward took up his residence, and in time arrived at the chief command of the militia, was made a member of his majesty's council, and died at the age of eighty-five, a rare instance of longevity in that country.

In the year 1725, Governor Nicolson having obtained leave from his majesty, returned to Great Britain, and the government devolved on Arthur Middleton, president of the council. Mr. Middleton, though of a reserved and mercenary disposition, was a sensible man, and by no means ill qualified for governing the province. But having succeeded a man who liberally spent all his salary and perquisites of office in promoting the public good, he was neither so much distinguished nor respected among the colonists. Being possessed of a moderate fortune, his chief study was to improve it, and he seemed to aspire after the character of a rich man in private life, rather than that of a popular governor and generous benefactor. As he had taken an active part against the proprietary government, he was not insensible of the advantages now gained from the countenance given them by the crown, and was equally careful to promote loyalty to the king as the freedom and safety of his fellow-subjects.

At this time the boundaries between the provinces of Carolina and Florida were neither clearly marked nor well understood, as they had never been settled by any public agreement or treaty between England and Spain. To prevent negroes escaping to the Spanish territories, and

overawe the Indians under the Spanish jurisdiction, the Carolineans had built a fort on the forks of the river Alatamaha, and supported a small garrison in it. This gave umbrage to the governor of Augustine, who complained of it to the court of Madrid, representing it as an encroachment on the dominions of Spain, and intended to seduce the Indians from their allegiance to his Catholic majesty. The Spanish ambassador at London lodged the complaint before the court of Britain, and demanded that orders be sent out to Carolina immediately to demolish that fort. To prevent any interruption of the good correspondence then subsisting between the two courts, it was agreed to send orders to both governors in America to meet in an amicable manner, and settle the respective boundaries between the British and Spanish dominions in that quarter. Accordingly soon after Don Francisco Menandez, and Don Joseph de Rabiero, came to Charlestown, to hold a conference with the president and council of Carolina about this matter. At their meeting, Mr. Middleton showed those deputies, that this fort was built within the bounds of the charter granted to the proprietors, and that the pretensions of Spain to such lands were vain and groundless. At the same time he told them, that the fort on the river Alatamaha was erected for defending themselves and their property against the depredations of Indians living under the jurisdiction of Spain. Then he begged to know from them their reasons for protecting felons and debtors that fled from Carolina to them, and for encouraging negroes to leave their masters and take refuge at Augustine, while peace subsisted between the two crowns? The deputies replied, That the governor of Florida would deliver up all felons and debtors; but had express orders for twenty years past, to detain all slaves who should fly to Augustine for liberty and protection. Middleton declared he looked on such injurious orders as a breach of national honour and faith, especially as negroes were real property, such

as houses and lands, in Carolina. The deputies answered, That the design of the king of Spain was not to injure private men, having ordered compensation to be made to the masters of such slaves in money; but that his humanity and religion enjoined him to issue such orders for the sake of converting slaves to the Christian faith. In short, the conference ended to the satisfaction of neither party, and matters remained as they were; but soon after, the English fort, built of wood, was burned to the ground, and the southern frontiers of Carolina were again left naked and defenceless.

As no final agreement, with respect to the limits of the two provinces had been concluded, the Indians in alliance with Spain continued to harass the British settlements: particularly the Yamassees, as usual, penetrating into Carolina in scalping parties, persisted in killing white men, and carrying off every negro they could catch. Though the owners of slaves had been allowed from the Spanish government a compensation in money for their losses, yet few of them ever received it. At length Colonel Palmer resolved to make reprisals on those plunderers, since no adequate recompense could otherwise be obtained. For this purpose he gathered together a party of militia and friendly Indians, consisting in all of about three hundred men, and entered Florida, with a resolution of spreading desolation throughout the province. He carried his arms as far as the gates of Augustine, and compelled the inhabitants to take refuge in their castle. Scarce a house or hut in the colony escaped the flames. He destroyed their provisions in the fields, and drove off their cattle, hogs and horses. Some Indians he killed, and others he made prisoners. In short, he left the people of Florida little property, except what was protected by the guns of their fort, and by this expedition convinced the Spaniards of their weakness, and the bad policy of encouraging Indians to molest the subjects of Britain. He showed them that the Carolineans could prevent the cultivation and settlement of their province whenever they

pleased, and render the improvement of it impracticable, on any other than peaceable terms with their neighbours.

But by this time the Spaniards were not the only neighbours that created trouble to the Carolineans. The French settled in Louisiana were also advancing nearer them, and using all their art and address for gaining the interest and affections of these savage nations. They erected a strong hold, called Fort Alabama, high up on Mobile river, which was excellently situated for opening and carrying on a correspondence with the most powerful nations around the British settlement. The Carolineans had good reason to be on their guard against the influence of these insinuating and enterprising neighbours. The tribes of Upper Creeks, whose hunting lands extended to their fort, were soon won over by promises and largesses to an alliance with them. The Cherokees indeed lived at a greater distance from them, and yet, by means of Creeks and other emissaries, whom they sent among them, they endeavoured also to bring them over to their interest. The river Mississippi being navigable a great way from its mouth, opened a communication with the Choctaws, Chikasaws, and other nations residing near it. So that the French had many excellent opportunities of seducing Indians from their alliance with Britain. The president of Carolina employed Captain Tobias Fitch among the Creeks, and Colonel George Chicken among the Cherokees, to keep these tribes steady and firm to the British interest. These agents, however, during the whole time Mr. Middleton presided over the colony, found no small difficulty in counteracting the influence of French policy, and preventing their union and alliance with these enemies. From this period the British and French settlers in America became competitors for power and influence over Indian nations, the one or the other of whom were always exposed to danger and trouble from them, in proportion to the success of their rivals. Now the Carolineans were farther from peace and safety than ever. The French supplied these savages with tomahawks, muskets, and ammunition, by

which means they laid aside the bow and arrow, and became more dangerous and formidable enemies than they had been in any former period.

During the summer of 1728, the weather in Carolina was observed to be uncommonly hot, by which the face of the earth was entirely parched, the pools of standing water dried up, and the beasts of the field were reduced to the greatest distress. After such a long and general drought, the inhabitants having usually observed hurricanes and tornadoes to follow in autumn, they began accordingly to look out with superstitious dread for them, as that season of the year approached. Accordingly a dreadful hurricane happened in the end of August, and occasioned an inundation, which overflowed the town and the low lands, and did incredible damage to the fortifications, houses, wharves, shipping, and cornfields. The streets of Charlestown were covered with boats, boards, staves, and the inhabitants were obliged to take refuge in the higher stories of their dwelling-houses. Twenty-three ships were driven ashore, most of which were either greatly damaged, or dashed to pieces. The Fox and Garland men of war, stationed there for the protection of trade, were the only ships that rode out the storm. This hurricane, though it levelled many thousand trees in the maritime parts, yet so thick was the forest, that it was scarcely perceived a hundred miles from the shore. But as such violent storms are probably occasioned by the rarefaction of the air, with excessive heat, they are seldom of long duration, for having restored the equipoise in the atmosphere, the wind commonly shifts, and the tempest ceases.

The same year an infectious and pestilential distemper, commonly called the yellow fever, broke out in town, and swept off multitudes of the inhabitants, both white and black. As the town depended entirely on the country for fresh provisions, the planters would suffer no person to carry supplies to it, for fear of catching the infection, and bringing it to the country. The physicians knew not how to treat the uncommon disorder, which was so suddenly caught, and proved

so quickly fatal. The calamity was so general, that few could grant assistance to their distressed neighbours, however much needed and earnestly desired. So many funerals happening every day, while so many lay sick, white persons sufficient for burying the dead were scarcely to be found; and though they were often interred on the same day they died, so quick was the putrefaction, so offensive and infectious were the corpses, that even the nearest relations seemed averse from the necessary duty.

After all, one memorable event distinguished this year, which was attended with many beneficial consequences to the province. An act of parliament passed in Britain for establishing an agreement with seven of the proprietors for a surrender of their right and interest, not only in the government, but also in the soil and lands of the province, to the king. The purchase was made for seventeen thousand five hundred pounds sterling, to be paid before the end of September, 1729, free of all deductions; after which payment, the province was to be vested in the crown of Great Britain. At the same time seven-eighth parts of the arrears of quit-rents, due from the colonists to the proprietors, amounting to somewhat more than nine thousand pounds sterling, were also purchased for the crown for five thousand; so that seven-eighth parts of this vast territory cost no more than twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds. But, in this act of parliament there is a clause, reserving to John Lord Carteret the remaining eighth share of the property and arrears of quit-rents, which continues to this day legally vested in that family, only all his share in the government he surrendered to the crown. The proprietors who sold their shares at this time, were Henry Duke of Beaufort, William Lord Craven, James Bertie, Dodington Greville, Henry Bertie, Mary Danson, Elizabeth More, Sir John Colleton, John Cotton, and Joseph Blake, who before the surrender were possessed, either in their own right or in trust, of seven-eighth parts of the government and property of the province. This surrender was made to Edward Bertie, Samuel Horsey,

Henry Smith, and Alexis Clayton, in trust for the crown. In consequence of the powers granted to his Majesty by this act of parliament, he claims the prerogative of appointing governors to both South and North Carolina, and a council similar to the other regal governments in America.

CHAPTER VII.

From that period in which the right and title to the lands of Carolina were sold, and surrendered to the king, and he assumed the immediate care and government of the province, a new era commences in the annals of that country, which may be called the era of its freedom, security, and happiness. The Carolineans, who had long laboured under innumerable hardships and troubles, from a weak proprietary establishment, at last obtained the great object of their desires, a royal government, the constitution of which depended on commissions issued by the crown to the governor, and the instructions which attended those commissions. The form of all provincial governments was borrowed from that of their mother country, which was not a plan of systematic rules drawn beforehand by speculative men, but a constitution which was the result of many ages of wisdom and experience. Its great object is the public good, in promoting of which all are equally concerned. It is a constitution which has a remedy within itself for every political disorder, which, when properly applied, must ever contribute to its stability and duration. After the model of this British constitution, the government of Carolina now assumed a form like the other regal ones on the continent, which were composed of three branches, of a governor, a council, and an assembly. The crown having the appointment of the governor, delegates to him its constitutional powers, civil and military; the power of legislation as far as the king possesses it; its judicial and executive powers, together with those of chancery and admiralty jurisdiction, and also those of su-

preme ordinary: all these powers, as they exist in the crown, are known by the laws of the realm; as they are entrusted to governors, they are declared and defined by their commissions patent. The council, though differing in many respects from the house of peers, are intended to represent that house, and are appointed by the king during pleasure, for supporting the prerogatives of the crown in the province. The assembly consists of the representatives of the people, and are elected by them as the house of commons in Great Britain, to be the guardians of their lives, liberties, and properties. Here also the constitution confides in the good behaviour of the representatives; for should they presume in any respect to betray their trust, it gives the people more frequent opportunities than even in Britain, of choosing others in their stead. The governor convenes, prorogues, and dissolves these assemblies, and has a negative on the bills of both houses. After bills have received his assent, they are sent to Great Britain for the royal approbation, in consequence of which they have the force of laws in the province. This is a general sketch of the royal governments, which are intended to resemble the constitution of Great Britain, as nearly as the local circumstances of the provinces will admit, and which, notwithstanding its imperfections, is certainly the best form of government upon earth. By the instructions which the governor receives from time to time from England, his power no doubt is greatly circumscribed; but it is his duty to transmit authentic accounts of the state of his province, in order that the instructions given him may be proper, and calculated for promoting not only the good of the province, but also that of the British empire.

After the purchase of the province, the first object of the royal concern was, to establish the peace of the colony on the most firm and permanent foundation; and for this purpose treaties of union and alliance with Indian nations were judged to be essentially necessary. Domestic security being first established, the colonists might then apply themselves

to industry with vigour and success, and while they enriched themselves, they would at the same time enlarge the commerce and trade of the mother country. For this purpose Sir Alexander Cumming was appointed, and sent out to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Cherokees, at this time a warlike and formidable nation of savages. These Indians occupied the lands about the head of Savanna river, and backwards among the Apalachian mountains. The country they claimed as their hunting grounds was of immense extent; and its boundaries had never been clearly ascertained. The inhabitants of their different towns were computed to amount to more than twenty thousand; six thousand of whom were warriors, fit on any emergency to take the field. An alliance with such a nation was an object of the highest consequence to Carolina, and likewise to the mother country, now engaged for its defence and protection.

About the beginning of the year 1730, Sir Alexander arrived in Carolina, and made preparations for his journey to the distant hills. For his guides he procured some Indian traders, well acquainted with the woods, and an interpreter who understood the Cherokee language, to assist him in his negociations. When he reached Keowee, about three hundred miles from Charlestown, the chiefs of the lower towns there met him, and received him with marks of great friendship and esteem. He immediately despatched messengers to the middle, the valley, and over-hill settlements, and summoned a general meeting of all their chiefs, to hold a congress with him at Nequassee. Accordingly in the month of April the chief warriors of all the Cherokee towns assembled at the place appointed. After the various Indian ceremonies were over, Sir Alexander made a speech to them, acquainting them by whose authority he was sent, and representing the great power and goodness of his sovereign King George; how he, and all his other subjects, paid a cheerful obedience to his laws, and of course were protected by him from all harm: That he had come a great way to demand of Moytoy,

and all the chieftains of the nation, to acknowledge themselves the subjects of his king, and to promise obedience to his authority: and as he loved them, and was answerable to his sovereign for their good and peaceable behaviour, he hoped they would agree to what he should now require of them. Upon which the chiefs, falling on their knees, solemnly promised fidelity and obedience, calling upon all that was terrible to fall upon them if they violated their promise. Sir Alexander then, by their unanimous consent, nominated Moytoy commander and chief of the Cherokee nation, and enjoined all the warriors of the different tribes to acknowledge him for their king, to whom they were to be accountable for their conduct. To this they also agreed, provided Moytoy should be made answerable to Sir Alexander for his behaviour to them. After which many useful presents were made them, and the congress ended to the great satisfaction of both parties. The crown was brought from Tenassee, their chief town, which with five eagle tails, and four scalps of their enemies, Moytoy presented to Sir Alexander, requesting him, on his arrival at Britain, to lay them at his majesty's feet. But Sir Alexander proposed to Moytoy, that he should depute some of their chiefs to accompany him to England, there to do homage in person to the great king. Accordingly, six of them agreed, and accompanied Sir Alexander to Charlestown, where being joined by another, they embarked for England in the Fox man of war, and arrived at Dover in June 1730.

We shall not pretend to describe their behaviour at the sight of London, or their wonder and astonishment at the greatness of the city, the number of the people, and the splendour of the army and court. Being admitted into the presence of the king, they, in the name of their nation, promised to continue for ever his majesty's faithful and obedient subjects. A treaty was accordingly drawn up, and signed by Alured Popple, secretary to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, on one side; and by the marks of the six chiefs, on the other. The preamble to this

treaty recites, "That whereas the six chiefs, with the consent of the whole nation of Cherokees, at a general meeting of their nation at Nequassee, were deputed by Moytoy, their chief warrior, to attend Sir Alexander Cumming to Great Britain, where they had seen the great King George: and Sir Alexander, by authority from Moytoy and all the Cherokees, had laid the crown of their nation, with the scalps of their enemies and feathers of glory, at his majesty's feet, as a pledge of their loyalty: And whereas the great king had commanded the lords commissioners of trade and plantations to inform the Indians, that the English on all sides of the mountains and lakes were his people, their friends his friends, and their enemies his enemies; that he took it kindly the great nation of Cherokees had sent them so far, to brighten the chain of friendship between him and them, and between his people and their people; that the chain of friendship between him and the Cherokees is now like the sun, which shines both in Britain and also upon the great mountains where they live, and equally warms the hearts of Indians and Englishmen; that as there is no spots or blackness in the sun, so neither is there any rust or foulness on this chain. And as the king had fastened one end to his breast, he desired them to carry the other end of the chain and fasten it to the breast of Moytoy of Telliquo, and to the breasts of all their old wise men, their captains, and people, never more to be made loose or broken.

"The great king and the Cherokees being thus fastened together by a chain of friendship, he has ordered, and it is agreed, that his children in Carolina do trade with the Indians, and furnish them with all manner of goods they want, and to make haste to build houses and plant corn from Charlestown, towards the towns of Cherokees behind the great mountains: That he desires the English and Indians may live together as children of one family; that the Cherokees be always ready to fight against any nation, whether white men or Indians, who shall dare to molest or

hurt the English; that the nation of Cherokees shall, on their part, take care to keep the trading path clean, that there be no blood on the path where the English tread, even though they should be accompanied with other people with whom the Cherokees may be at war: That the Cherokees shall not suffer their people to trade with white men of any other nation but the English, nor permit white men of any other nation to build any forts or cabins, or plant any corn among them, upon lands which belong to the great king; and if any such attempt shall be made, the Cherokees must acquaint the English governor therewith, and do whatever he directs, in order to maintain and defend the great king's right to the country of Carolina: That if any negroes shall run away into the woods from their English masters, the Cherokees shall endeavour to apprehend them, and bring them to the plantation from whence they run away, or to the governor, and for every slave so apprehended and brought back, the Indian that brings him shall receive a gun and a watch-coat: and if by any accident it shall happen, that an Englishman shall kill a Cherokee, the king or chief of the nation shall first complain to the English governor, and the man who did the harm shall be punished by the English laws as if he had killed an Englishman; and in like manner, if any Indian happens to kill an Englishman, the Indian shall be delivered up to the governor, to be punished by the same English laws as if he were an Englishman."

This was the substance of the first treaty between the king and the Cherokees, every article of which was accompanied with presents of different kinds, such as cloth, guns, shot, vermilion, flints, hatchets, knives. The Indians were given to understand, "That these were the words of the great king, whom they had seen, and as a token that his heart was open and true to his children the Cherokees, and to all their people, a belt was given the warriors, which they were told the king desired them to keep, and show to all their people, to their children, and their children's

children, to confirm what was now spoken, and to bind this agreement of peace and friendship between the English and Cherokees, as long as the rivers shall run, the mountains shall last, or the sun shall shine."

This treaty, that it might be the easier understood, was drawn up in language as similar as possible to that of the Indians, which at this time was very little known in England, and given to them, certified and approved by Sir Alexander Cumming. In answer to which, Skijagustah, in name of the rest, made a speech to the following effect:—"We are come hither from a mountainous place, where nothing but darkness is to be found—but we are now in a place where there is light. There was a person in our country—he gave us a yellow token of warlike honour, which is left with Moytoy of Telliquo,—and as warriors we received it. He came to us like a warrior from you. A man he is;—his talk is upright—and the token he left preserves his memory among us. We look upon you as if the great king were present;—we love you as representing the great king;—we shall die in the same way of thinking. The crown of our nation is different from that which the great King George wears, and from that we saw in the tower. But to us it is all one. The chain of friendship shall be carried to our people. We look upon the great King George as the Sun, and as our father, and upon ourselves as his children. For though we are red, and you are white, yet our hands and hearts are joined together. When we shall have acquainted our people with what we have seen, our children from generation to generation will always remember it. In war we shall always be one with you. The enemies of the great king shall be our enemies;—his people and ours shall be one, and shall die together. We came hither naked and poor as the worms of the earth, but you have every thing,—and we that have nothing must love you, and will never break the chain of friendship which is between us. Here stands the governor of Carolina, whom we know. This small rope we show

you is all that we have to bind our slaves with, and it may be broken. But you have iron chains for yours. However, if we catch your slaves, we will bind them as well as we can, and deliver them to our friends, and take no pay for it. We have looked round for the person that was in our country—he is not here;—however, we must say he talked uprightly to us, and we shall never forget him. Your white people may very safely build houses near us;—we shall hurt nothing that belongs to them, for we are children of one father, the great king, and shall live and die together." Then laying down his feathers upon the table he added: "This is our way of talking, which is the same thing to us as your letters in the book are to you, and to you beloved men we deliver these feathers in confirmation of all we have said."

The Cherokees, however barbarous, were a free and independent people; and this method of obtaining a share of their lands by the general consent, was fair and honourable in itself, and most agreeable to the general principles of equity, and the English constitution. An agreement is made with them, in consequence of which the king could not only give a just title to Indian lands; but, by Indians becoming his voluntary subjects, the colonists obtained peaceable possession. The Cherokees held abundance of territory from nature, and with little injury to themselves could spare a share of it; but reason and justice required that it be obtained by paction or agreement. By such treaties mutual presents were made, mutual obligations were established, and, for the performance of the conditions required, the honour and faith of both parties were pledged. Even to men in a barbarous state such policy was the most agreeable, as will afterward clearly appear; for the Cherokees, in consequence of this treaty, for many years, remained in a state of perfect friendship and peace with the colonists, who followed their various employments in the neighbourhood of those Indians, without the least terror or molestation.

About the beginning of the year 1731, Robert Johnson, who had been governor of Carolina while in the possession of the lords proprietors, having received a commission from the king, investing him with the same office and authority, arrived in the province. He brought back these Indian chiefs, possessed with the highest ideas of the power and greatness of the English nation, and not a little pleased with the kind and generous treatment they had received. The Carolineans, who had always entertained the highest esteem for this gentleman, even in the time of their greatest confusion, having now obtained him in the character of king's governor, a thing they formerly had so earnestly desired, received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Sensible of his wisdom and virtue, and his strong attachment to the colony, they promised themselves much prosperity and happiness under his gentle administration.

This new governor, from his knowledge of the province, and the dispositions of the people, was not only well qualified for his high office, but he had a council to assist him, composed of the most respectable inhabitants. Thomas Broughton was appointed lieutenant governor, and Robert Wright, chief justice. The other members of the council were, William Bull, James Kinloch, Alexander Skene, John Fenwick, Arthur Middleton, Joseph Wragg, Francis Yonge, John Hamerton, and Thomas Waring. At the first meeting of assembly, the governor recommended to both houses, to embrace the earliest opportunity of testifying their gratitude to his majesty for purchasing seven eighth parts of the province, and taking it under his particular care; he enjoined them to put the laws in execution against impiety and immorality, and as the most effectual means of discouraging vice, to attend carefully to the education of youth. He acquainted them of the treaty which had been concluded in England with the Cherokees, which he hoped would be attended with beneficial and happy consequences; he recommended the payment of public debts, the establishment of public credit, and peace and unanimity among themselves

as the chief object of their attention; for if they should prove faithful subjects to his majesty, and attend to the welfare and prosperity of their country, he hoped soon to see it, now under the protection of a great and powerful nation, in as flourishing and prosperous a situation as any of the other settlements on the continent. They in return presented to him the most loyal and affectionate addresses, and entered on their public deliberations with uncommon harmony and great satisfaction.

For the encouragement of the people, now connected with the mother country both by mutual affection and the mutual benefits of commerce, several favours and indulgences were granted them. The restraint upon rice, an enumerated commodity, was partly taken off; and, that it might arrive more seasonably and in better condition at the market, the colonists were permitted to send it to any port southward of Cape Finisterre. A discount upon hemp was also allowed by parliament. The arrears of quit-rents bought from the proprietors were remitted by a bounty from the crown. For the benefit and enlargement of trade their bills of credit were continued, and seventy-seven thousand pounds were stamped and issued by virtue of an act of the legislature, called the appropriation law. Seventy pieces of cannon were sent out by the king, and the governor had instructions to build one fort at Port-Royal, and another on the river Alatamaha. An independent company of foot was allowed for their defence by land, and ships of war were stationed there for the protection of trade. These and many more favours flowed to the colony, now emerging from the depths of poverty and oppression, and arising to a state of freedom, ease, and affluence.

As a natural consequence of its domestic security, the credit of the province in England increased. The merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool turned their eyes to Carolina, as a new and promising channel of trade, and established houses in Charlestown for conducting their business with the greater ease and success. They poured in slaves

from Africa for cultivating their lands, and manufactures of Britain for supplying the plantations; by which means the planters obtained great credit, and goods at a much cheaper rate than they could be obtained from any other nation. In consequence of which, the planters having greater strength, turned their whole attention to cultivation, and cleared the lands with greater facility and success. The lands rose in value, and men of foresight and judgment began to look out and secure the richest spots for themselves, with that ardour and keenness which the prospects of riches naturally inspire. The produce of the province in a few years was doubled. During this year above thirty-nine thousand barrels of rice were exported, besides deer-skins, furs, naval stores, and provisions; and above one thousand five hundred negroes were imported into it. From this period its exports kept pace with its imports, and secured its credit in England. The rate of exchange had now risen to seven hundred *per cent. i. e.* seven hundred Carolina money was given for a bill of a hundred pounds sterling on England; at which rate it afterward continued, with little variation, for upwards of forty years.

Hitherto small and inconsiderable was the progress in cultivation Carolina had made, and the face of the country appeared like a desert, with little spots here and there cleared, scarcely discernable amidst the immense forest. The colonists were slovenly farmers, owing to the vast quantities of lands, and the easy and cheap terms of obtaining them; for a good crop they were more indebted to the great power of vegetation and natural richness of the soil, than to their own good culture and judicious management. They had abundance of the necessaries, and several of the conveniences of life. But their habitations were clumsy and miserable huts, and having no chaises, all travellers were exposed in open boats or on horseback to the violent heat of the climate. Their houses were constructed of wood, by erecting first a wooden frame, and then covering it with clap-boards without, and plastering it with lime within, of which they

had plenty made from oyster shells. Charlestown, at this time, consisted of between five and six hundred houses, mostly built of timber, and neither well constructed nor comfortable, plain indications of the wretchedness and poverty of the people. However, from this period the province improved in building as well as in many other respects; many ingenious artificers and tradesmen of different kinds found encouragement in it, and introduced a taste for brick buildings, and more neat and pleasant habitations. In process of time, as the colony increased in numbers, the face of the country changed, and exhibited an appearance of industry and plenty. The planters made a rapid progress towards wealth and independence, and the trade being well protected, yearly increased and flourished.

At the same time, for the relief of poor and indigent people of Great Britain and Ireland, and for the farther security of Carolina, the settlement of a new colony between the rivers Alatamaha and Savanna was projected in England. This large territory, situated on the south-west of Carolina, yet lay waste, without an inhabitant except its original savages. Private compassion and public spirit conspired towards promoting the excellent design. Several persons of humanity and opulence having observed many families and valuable subjects oppressed with the miseries of poverty at home, united, and formed a plan for raising money and transporting them to this part of America. For this purpose they applied to the king, obtained from him letters-patent, bearing date June 9th, 1732, for legally carrying into execution what they had generously projected. They called the new province Georgia, in honour of the king, who likewise greatly encouraged the undertaking. A corporation consisting of twenty-one persons was constituted, by the name of trustees', for settling and establishing the colony of Georgia; which was separated from Carolina by the river Savanna. The trustees having first set an example themselves, by largely contributing towards the scheme, undertook also to solicit benefactions from others,

and to apply the money towards clothing, arming, purchasing utensils for cultivating, and transporting such poor people as should consent to go over and begin a settlement. They however confined not their views to the subjects of Britain alone, but wisely opened a door also for oppressed and indigent protestants from other nations. To prevent any misapplication or abuse of charitable donations, they agreed to deposit the money in the bank of England, and to enter in a book the names of all the charitable benefactors, together with the sums contributed by each of them; and to bind and oblige themselves, and their successors in office, to lay a state of the money received and expended before the lord chancellor of England, the lord chief justice of the king's bench and common pleas, the master of the rolls, and the lord chief Baron of the Exchequer.

When this scheme of the trustees with respect to the settlement of Georgia was made public, the well-wishers of mankind in every part of Britain highly approved of an undertaking so humane and disinterested. To consult the public happiness, regardless of private interest, and to stretch forth a bountiful hand for relief of distressed fellow-creatures, were considered as examples of uncommon benevolence and virtue, and therefore worthy of general imitation. The ancient Romans, famous for their courage and magnanimity, ranked the planting of colonies among their noblest works, and such as added greater lustre to their empire than their most glorious wars and victories. By the latter old cities were plundered and destroyed; by the former new ones were foundered and established. The latter ravaged the dominions of enemies, and depopulated the world; the former improved new territories, provided for unfortunate friends, and added strength to the state. The benevolent founders of the colony of Georgia perhaps may challenge the annals of any nation to produce a design more generous and praise-worthy than that they had undertaken. They voluntarily offered their money, their labour, and time, for promoting what appeared to them the good of

others, leaving themselves nothing for reward but the inexpressible satisfaction arising from virtuous actions. Among other great ends they had also in view the conversion and civilization of Indian savages. If their public regulations were afterward found improper and impracticable; if their plan of settlement proved too narrow and circumscribed; praise, nevertheless, is due to them. Human policy at best is imperfect; but, when the design appears so evidently good and disinterested, the candid and impartial part of the world will make many allowances for them, considering their ignorance of the country, and the many defects that cleave to all codes of laws, even when framed by the wisest legislators.

About the middle of July, 1732, the trustees for Georgia held their first general meeting, when Lord Percival was chosen president of the corporation. After all the members had qualified themselves, agreeable to the charter, for the faithful discharge of the trust, a common seal was ordered to be made. The device was, on one side, two figures resting upon urns, representing the rivers Alatamaha and Savanna, the boundaries of the province; between them the genius of the colony seated, with a cap of liberty on his head, a spear in one hand and a cornucopia in the other, with the inscription, COLONIA GEORGIA AUG.: on the other side was a representation of silk worms, some beginning and others having finished their web, with the motto, NON SIBI SED ALIIS; a very proper emblem, signifying, that the nature of the establishment was such, that neither the first trustees nor their successors could have any views of interest, it being entirely designed for the benefit and happiness of others.

In November following, one hundred and sixteen settlers embarked at Gravesend for Georgia, having their passage paid, and every thing requisite for building and cultivation furnished them by the corporation. They could not properly be called adventurers, as they run no risk but what arose from the change of climate, and as they were to be main-

tained until by their industry they were able to support themselves. James Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, embarked along with them, and proved a zealous and active promoter of the settlement. In the beginning of the year following, Oglethorpe arrived in Charlestown, where he was received by the governor and council in the kindest manner, and treated with every mark of civility and respect. Governor Johnson, sensible of the great advantage that must accrue to Carolina from this new colony, gave all the encouragement and assistance in his power to forward the settlement. Many of the Carolineans sent them provisions, and hogs, and cows to begin their stock. William Bull, a man of knowledge and experience, agreed to accompany Mr. Oglethorpe, and the rangers and scout boats were ordered to attend him to Georgia. After their arrival at Yamacraw, Oglethorpe and Bull explored the country, and having found a high and pleasant spot of ground, situated on a navigable river, they fixed on this place as the most convenient and healthy situation for the settlers. On this hill they marked out a town, and, from the Indian name of the river which ran past it, called it Savanna. A small fort was erected on the banks of it as a place of refuge, and some guns were mounted on it for the defence of the colony. The people were set to work in felling trees and building huts for themselves, and Oglethorpe animated and encouraged them, by exposing himself to all the hardships which the poor objects of his compassion endured. He formed them into a company of militia, appointed officers from among themselves, and furnished them with arms and ammunition. To show the Indians how expert they were at the use of arms, he frequently exercised them; and as they had been trained before-hand by the serjeants of the guards in London, they performed their various parts in a manner little inferior to regular troops.

Having thus put his colony in as good a situation as possible, the next object of his attention was to treat with the Indians for a share of their possessions. The principal

tribes that at this time occupied the territory were the Upper and Lower Creeks; the former were numerous and strong, the latter, by diseases and war, had been reduced to a smaller number: both tribes together were computed to amount to about twenty-five thousand, men, women and children. These Indians, according to a treaty formerly made with Governor Nicolson, laid claim to the lands lying south west of Savanna river, and, to procure their friendship for this infant colony, was an object of the highest consequence. But as the tribe of Indians settled at Yamacraw was inconsiderable, Oglethorpe judged it necessary to have the other tribes also to join with them in the treaty. To accomplish this union he found an Indian woman named Mary, who had married a trader from Carolina, and who could speak both the English and Creek languages, and perceiving that she had great influence among Indians, and might be made useful as an interpreter in forming treaties of alliance with them; he therefore first purchased her friendship with presents, and afterward settled an hundred pounds yearly on her, as a reward for her services. By her assistance he summoned a general meeting of the chiefs, to hold a congress with him at Savanna, in order to procure their consent to the peaceable settlement of his colony. At this congress fifty chieftains were present, when Oglethorpe represented to them the great power, wisdom and wealth of the English nation, and the many advantages that would accrue to Indians in general from a connexion and friendship with them; and as they had plenty of lands, he hoped they would freely resign a share of them to his people, who were come for their benefit and instruction to settle among them. After having distributed some presents, which must always attend every proposal of friendship and peace, an agreement was made, and then Tomochichi, in the name of the Creek warriors, addressed him in the following manner: "Here is a little present, and, giving him a buffalo's skin, adorned on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle, desired him to accept it, because the eagle was an emblem of speed,

and the buffalo of strength. He told him, that the English were as swift as the bird and as strong as the beast, since, like the former, they flew over vast seas to the uttermost parts of the earth; and, like the latter, they were so strong that nothing could withstand them. He said, the feathers of the eagle were soft, and signified love; the buffalo's skin was warm, and signified protection; and therefore he hoped the English would love and protect their little families." Oglethorpe accordingly accepted the present, and after having concluded this treaty of friendship with the Indians, and placed his colony in the best posture of defence, he returned to Britain, carrying with him Tomochichi, his queen, and some more Indians.

On their arrival in London, these Indian chiefs were introduced to his majesty, while many of the nobility were present; when Tomochichi, struck with astonishment at the grandeur of the British court, addressed the king in the following words: "This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house, and the number of your people; —I am come in my old days, though I cannot expect to see any advantage to myself—I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Lower and Upper Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English.—These are feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and which flieth round our nations.—These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there.—We have brought them over to leave them with you, O great king, as a token of everlasting peace.—O great king, whatever words you shall say unto me, I will faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nations." To which his majesty replied: "I am glad of this opportunity of assuring you of my regard for the people from whom you came; and I am extremely well pleased with the assurances you have brought me from them, and accept very gratefully of this present, an indication of their good dispositions to me and my people. I shall always be ready to cultivate a good correspondence

between the Creeks and my subjects; and shall be glad on any occasion to show you a mark of my particular friendship."

During the whole time these Indians were in England, nothing was neglected that might serve to engage their affections, and fill them with just notions of the greatness and power of the British nation. The nobility, curious to see them, and observe their manners, entertained them magnificently at their tables. Wherever they went, multitudes flocked around them, shaking hands with the rude warriors of the forest, giving them little presents, and treating them with every mark of friendship and civility. Twenty pounds a week were allowed them by the crown while they remained in England, and when they returned, it was computed they carried presents with them to the value of four hundred pounds sterling. After staying four months, and seeing the grandeur of the English sovereign, they were carried to Gravesend in one of his majesty's carriages, where they embarked for Georgia, highly pleased with the generosity of the nation, and promising eternal fidelity to its interest.

This generous and kind method of treating barbarians was better policy than that of overawing them by force, and was attended, as might have been expected, with the happiest consequences. To strengthen the frontiers of Carolina, and promote the colony of Georgia, nothing could have been conceived more useful and effectual than a friendly intercourse with those savages in the neighbourhood. The most proper method of managing them was to secure the friendship of the leading men among them, whose influence, however limited by the nature of their government, was nevertheless great, as they always directed the public councils in all affairs relative to peace and war. It is true their young men, fond of fame and glory from warlike exploits, and rejoicing in opportunities of distinguishing themselves, will now and then, in contempt to the power of their old leaders, break out in scalping parties. To moderate and

restrain the fiery passions of the young men, the sages find generally the greatest difficulties, especially as these passions are often roused by gross frauds and impositions. Unprincipled and avaricious traders sometimes resided among them, who, that they might the more easily cheat them, first filled the savages drunk, and then took all manner of advantages of them in the course of traffic. When the Indian recovered from his fit of drunkenness, and finding himself robbed of his treasures, for procuring which he had perhaps hunted a whole year, he is filled with fury, and breathes vengeance and resentment. No authority can then restrain him within the bounds of moderation. At such a juncture in vain does the leader of the greatest influence interpose. He spurns at every person that presumes to check that arm by which alone he defends his property against the hands of fraud and injustice. Among themselves indeed theft is scarcely known, and injuries of this kind are seldom committed; and had the traders observed in general the same justice and equity in their dealings with them, as they commonly practice among themselves, it would have been an easy matter with their wise and grave leaders to maintain peace in all the different intercourses between Europeans and Indians. Tomochichi acknowledged, that the governor of the world had given the English great wisdom, power, and riches, insomuch that they wanted nothing; he had given Indians great territories, yet they wanted every thing; and he prevailed on the Creeks freely to resign such lands to the English as were of no use to themselves, and to allow them to settle among them, on purpose that they might get instruction, and be supplied with the various necessaries of life. He persuaded them, that the English were a generous nation, and would trade with them on the most just and honourable terms; that they were brethren and friends, and would protect them from danger, and go with them to war against all their enemies.

Some say that James Oglethorpe, when he came out to settle this colony in Georgia, brought along with him

Sir Walter Raleigh's journals, written by his own hand; and by the latitude of the place, and the traditions of the Indians, it appeared to him that Sir Walter had landed at the mouth of Savanna river. Indeed during his wild and chimerical attempts for finding out a golden country, it is not improbable that this brave adventurer visited many different places. The Indians acknowledged that their fathers once held a conference with a warrior who came over the great waters. At a little distance from Savanna, there is a high mount of earth, under which they say the Indian king lies interred, who talked with the English warrior, and that he desired to be buried in the same place where this conference was held. But having little authority with respect to this matter, we leave the particular relation of it to men in circumstances more favourable for intelligence.

While the security of Carolina, against external enemies, by this settlement of Georgia, engaged the attention of British government, the means of its internal improvement and population at the same time were not neglected. John Peter Pury, a native of Neufchatel in Switzerland, having formed a design of leaving his native country, paid a visit to Carolina, in order to inform himself of the circumstances, and situation of the province. After viewing the lands there, and procuring all the information he could, with respect to the terms of obtaining them, he returned to Britain. The government entered into a contract with him, and, for the encouragement of the people, agreed to give lands and four hundred pounds sterling for every hundred effective men he should transport from Switzerland to Carolina. Pury, while in Carolina, having furnished himself with a flattering account of the soil and climate, and of the excellence and freedom of the provincial government, returned to Switzerland, and published it among the people. Immediately one hundred and seventy poor Switzers agreed to follow him, and were transported to the fertile and delightful province as he described it; and not long after-

ward two hundred more came over, and joined them. The governor, agreeable to instructions, allotted forty thousand acres of lands for the use of the Swiss settlement on the north-east side of Savanna river; and a town was marked out for their accommodation, which he called Purisburgh, from the name of the principal promoter of the settlement. Mr. Bignion, a Swiss minister, whom they had engaged to go with them, having received Episcopal ordination from the bishop of London, settled among them for their religious instruction. On the one hand the governor and council, happy in the acquisition of such a force, allotted each of them his separate tract of land, and gave every encouragement in their power to the people: On the other, the poor Swiss emigrants began their labours with uncommon zeal and courage, highly elevated with the idea of possessing landed estates, and big with the hopes of future success. However, in a short time they felt the many inconveniences attending a change of climate. Several of them sickened and died, and others found all the hardships of the first state of colonization falling heavily upon them. They became discontented with the provisions allowed them, and complained to government of the persons employed to distribute them; and, to double their distress, the period for receiving the bounty expired before they had made such progress in cultivation as to raise sufficient provisions for themselves and families. The spirit of murmur crept into the poor Swiss settlement, and the people finding themselves oppressed with indigence and distress, could consider their situation in no other light than a state of banishment, and not only blamed Pury for deceiving them, but also heartily repented their leaving their native country.

According to the new plan adopted in England for the more speedy population and settlement of the province; the governor had instructions to mark out eleven townships, in square plats, on the sides of rivers, consisting each of twenty thousand acres, and to divide the lands within them into

shares of fifty acres for each man, woman, and child, that should come over to occupy and improve them. Each township was to form a parish, and all the inhabitants were to have an equal right to the river. So soon as the parish should increase to the number of a hundred families, they were to have right to send two members of their own election to the assembly, and to enjoy the same privileges as the other parishes already established. Each settler was to pay four shillings a year for every hundred acres of land, excepting the first ten years, during which term they were to be rent free. Governor Johnson issued a warrant to St. John, surveyor general of the province, empowering him to go and mark out those townships. But he having demanded an exorbitant sum of money for his trouble, the members of the council agreed among themselves to do this piece of service for their country. Accordingly eleven townships were marked out by them in the following situations; two on river Alatamaha, two on Savanna, two on Santee, one on Pedee, one on Wacamaw, one on Waterce, and one on Black rivers.

The old planters now acquiring every year greater strength of hands, by the large importation of negroes, and extensive credit from England, began to turn their attention more closely than ever to the lands of the province. A spirit of emulation broke out among them for securing tracts of the richest ground, but especially such as were most conveniently situated for navigation. Complaints were made to the assembly, that all the valuable lands on navigable rivers and creeks adjacent to Port Royal had been run out in exorbitant tracts, under colour of patents granted by the proprietors to cassiques and landgraves, by which the complainants, who had, at the hazard of their lives, defended the country, were hindered from obtaining such lands as could be useful and beneficial, at the established quit-rents, though the attorney and solicitor general of England had declared such patents void. Among others, Job Rothmaller and Thomas Cooper, having been accused of some illegal practices with respect to this matter, a petition was presented to

the assembly by thirty-nine inhabitants of Granville county in their vindication. When the assembly examined into the matter, they ordered their messenger forthwith to take into custody Job Rothmaller and Thomas Cooper, for aiding, assisting, and superintending the deputy surveyor in marking out tracts of land already surveyed, contrary to the quit-rent act. But Cooper, being taken into custody, applied to Chief Justice Wright for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was granted. The assembly, however, sensible of the ill consequences that would attend such illegal practices, determined to put a stop to them by an act made on purpose. They complained to the governor and council against the surveyor general, for encouraging land jobbers, and allowing such liberties as tended to create litigious disputes in the province, and to involve it in great confusion. In consequence of which, the governor, to give an effectual check to such practices, prohibited St. John to survey lands to any person without an express warrant from him. The surveyor general, however, determined to make the most of his office, and having a considerable number to support him, represented both governor and council as persons disaffected to his majesty's government, and enemies to the interest of the country. Being highly offended at the assembly, he began to take great liberties without doors, and to turn some of their speeches into ridicule. Upon which an order was issued to take St. John also into custody; and then the commons came to the following spirited resolutions: "That it is the undeniable privilege of this assembly to commit such persons as they may judge to deserve it: That the freedom of speech and debate ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of that house: That it is a contempt and violation of the privileges of that house, to call in question any of their commitments: That no writ of *habeas corpus* lies in favour of any person committed by that house, and that the messenger attending do yield no obedience to such; and that the chief justice be made acquainted with these resolutions." In consequence of which,

Wright complained before the governor and council of these resolutions, as tending to the dissolution of all government, and charged the lower house with disallowing his majesty's undoubted prerogative, and with renouncing obedience to his writs of *habeas corpus*. But the council in general approved of their conduct, and were of opinion, that the assembly of Carolina had that same privilege there, that the house of commons had in England. In short, this affair created some trouble in the colony. For while a strong party, from motives of private interest, supported the chief justice, the assembly resolved, "That he appeared to be prejudiced against the people, and was therefore unworthy of the office he held, and that it would tend to the tranquillity of the province immediately to suspend him."

In this situation was the colony about the end of the year 1733. Each planter, eager in the pursuit of large possessions of land, which were formerly neglected, because of little value, strenuously vied with his neighbour for a superiority of fortune, and seemed impatient of every restraint that hindered or cramped him in his favourite pursuit. Many favours and indulgences had already been granted them from the crown, for promoting their success and prosperity, and for securing the province against external enemies. What farther favours they expected, we may learn from the following memorial and representation of the state of Carolina, transmitted to his majesty, bearing date April 9th, 1734, and signed by the governor, the president of the council, and the speaker of the commons house of assembly.

"Your majesty's most dutiful subjects of this province, having often felt, with hearts full of gratitude, the many signal instances of your majesty's peculiar favour and protection, to these distant parts of your dominions; and especially those late proofs of your majesty's most gracious and benign care, so wisely calculated for the preservation of this your majesty's frontier province on the continent of America, by your royal charter to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, and your great goodness so timely applied, for

the promoting the settlement of the Swiss at Purisburgh; encouraged by such views of your majesty's wise and paternal care, extended to your remotest subjects, and excited by the duty we owe to your most sacred majesty, to be always watchful for the support and security of your majesty's interest, especially at this very critical conjuncture, when the flame of a war breaking out in Europe may very speedily be lighted here, in this your majesty's frontier province, which, in situation, is known to be of the utmost importance to the general trade and traffic in America: we, therefore, your majesty's most faithful governor, council, and commons, convened in your majesty's province of South Carolina, crave leave with great humility to represent to your majesty the present state and condition of this your province, and how greatly it stands in need of your majesty's gracious and timely succour in case of a war, to assist our defence against the French and Spaniards, or any other enemies to your majesty's dominions, as well as against the many nations of savages which so nearly threaten the safety of your majesty's subjects.

"The province of South Carolina, and the new colony of Georgia, are the southern frontiers of all your majesty's dominions on the continent of America; to the south and south-west of which is situated the strong castle of St. Augustine, garrisoned by four hundred Spaniards, who have several nations of Indians under their subjection, besides several other small settlements and garrisons, some of which are not eighty miles distant from the colony of Georgia. To the south-west and west of us the French have erected a considerable town, near Fort Thoulouse, on the Moville river, and several other forts and garrisons, some not above three hundred miles distant from our settlements; and at New Orleans on the Mississippi river, since her late majesty Queen Anne's war, they have exceedingly increased their strength and traffic, and have now many forts and garrisons on both sides of that great river for several hundred miles up the same; and since his most Christian majesty has taken

out of the Mississippi company the government of that country into his own hands, the French natives in Canada come daily down in shoals to settle all along that river, where many regular forces have of late been sent over by the king to strengthen the garrisons in those places, and, according to our best and latest advices, they have five hundred men in pay, constantly employed as wood-rangers, to keep their neighbouring Indians in subjection, and to prevent the distant ones from disturbing the settlements; which management of the French has so well succeeded, that we are very well assured they have now wholly in their possession and under their influence, the several numerous nations of Indians that are situated near the Mississippi river, one of which, called the Choctaws, by estimation consists of about five thousand fighting men, and who were always deemed a very warlike nation, lies on this side the river, not above four hundred miles distant from our out-settlements, among whom, as well as several other nations of Indians, many French Europeans have been sent to settle, whom the priests and missionaries among them encourage to take Indian wives, and use divers other alluring methods to attach the Indians the better to the French alliance, by which means the French are become thoroughly acquainted with the Indian way, warring, and living in the woods, and have now a great number of white men among them, able to perform a long march with an army of Indians upon any expedition.

"We further beg leave to inform your majesty, that if the measures of France should provoke your majesty to a state of hostility against it in Europe, we have great reason to expect an invasion will be here made upon your majesty's subjects by the French and Indians from the Mississippi settlements. They have already paved a way for a design of that nature, by erecting a fort called the Albama fort, alias fort Lewis, in the middle of the Upper Creek Indians, upon a navigable river leading to Mobile, which they have kept well garrisoned and mounted with fourteen pieces of

cannon, and have lately been prevented from erecting a second nearer to us on that quarter. The Upper Creeks are a nation very bold, active and daring, consisting of about two thousand five hundred fighting men, (and not above one hundred and fifty miles distant from the Choctaws,) whom, though we heretofore have traded with, claimed and held in our alliance, yet the French, on account of that fort, and a superior ability to make them liberal presents, have been for some time striving to draw them over to their interest, and have succeeded with some of the towns of the Creeks; which, if they can be secured in your majesty's interest, are the only nation which your majesty's subjects here can depend upon as the best barrier against any attempts either of the French or their confederate Indians.

"We most humbly beg leave farther to inform your majesty, that the French at Mobile perceiving that they could not gain the Indians to their interest without buying their deer-skins, (which is the only commodity the Indians have to purchase necessaries with,) and the French not being able to dispose of those skins by reason of their having no vent for them in Old France, they have found means to encourage vessels from hence, New-York, and other places, (which are not prohibited by the acts of trade,) to truck those skins with them for Indian trading goods, especially the British woollen manufactures, which the French dispose of to the Creeks and Choctaws, and other Indians, by which means the Indians are much more alienated from our interest, and on every occasion object to us that the French can supply them with strouds and blankets as well as the English, which would have the contrary effect if they were wholly supplied with those commodities by your majesty's subjects trading with them. If a stop were therefore put to that pernicious trade with the French, the chief dependence of the Creek Indians would be on this government, and that of Georgia, to supply them with goods; by which means great part of

the Choctaws, living next the Creeks, would see the advantage the Creek Indians enjoyed by having British woollen manufactures wholly from your majesty's subjects, and thereby be invited in a short time to enter into a treaty of commerce with us, which they have lately made some offers for, and which, if effected, will soon lessen the interest of the French with those Indians, and by degrees attach them to that of your majesty.

"The only expedient we can propose to recover and confirm that nation to your majesty's interest, is by speedily making them presents to withdraw them from the French alliance, and by building some forts among them your majesty may be put in such a situation, that on the first notice of hostilities with the French, your majesty may be able at once to reduce the Albama fort, and we may then stand against the French and their Indians, which, if not timely prepared for before a war breaks out, we have too much reason to fear we may be soon over-run by the united strength of the French, the Creeks and Choctaws, with many other nations of their Indian allies: for, should the Creeks become wholly enemies, who are well acquainted with all our settlements, we probably should also be soon deserted by the Cherokees, and a few others, small tribes of Indians, who, for the sake of our booty, would readily join to make us a prey to the French and savages. Ever since the late Indian war, the offences given us then by the Creeks have made that nation very jealous of your majesty's subjects of this province. We have therefore concerted measures with the honourable James Oglethorpe, Esq.; who, being at the head of a new colony, will (we hope) be successful for your majesty's interest among that people. He has already by presents attached the Lower Creeks to your majesty, and has laudably undertaken to endeavour the fixing a garrison among the Upper Creeks, the expense of which is already in part provided for in this session of the general assembly of this province. We hope therefore

to prevent the French from encroaching farther on your majesty's territories, until your majesty is graciously pleased further to strengthen and secure the same.

"We find the Cherokee nation has lately become very insolent to your majesty's subjects trading among them, notwithstanding the many favours the chiefs of that nation received from your majesty in Great Britain, besides a considerable expense which your majesty's subjects of this province have been at in making them presents, which inclines us to believe that the French, by their Indians, have been tampering with them. We therefore beg leave to inform your majesty, that the building and mounting some forts likewise among the Cherokees, and making them presents, will be highly necessary to keep them steady in their duty to your majesty, lest the French may prevail in seducing that nation, which they may the more readily be inclined to from the prospect of getting considerable plunder in slaves, cattle, &c., commodities which they very well know we have among us; several other forts will be indispensably necessary, to be a cover to your majesty's subjects settled backwards in this province, as also to those of the colony of Georgia, both which in length are very extensive; for though the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, by a particular scheme of good management, painfully conducted by the gentleman engaged here in that charitable enterprise, has put that small part of the colony, which he has not yet been able to establish, in a tenable condition, against the Spaniards of Florida which lie to the southward; yet the back exposition of those colonies to the vast number of French and Indians which border on the westward, must in case of a war, cry greatly aloud for your majesty's gracious and timely succour. The expense of our safety on such an occasion, we must, with all humility, acquaint your majesty, either for men or money, can never be effected by your majesty's subjects of this province, who, in conjunction with Georgia, do not in

the whole amount to more than three thousand five hundred men, which compose the militia, and wholly consist of planters, tradesmen, and other men of business.

"Besides the many dangers which by land we are exposed to from so many enemies that lie on the back of us; we further beg leave to represent to your majesty, the defenceless condition of our ports and harbours, where any enemies of your majesty's dominions may very easily by sea invade us, there being no fortifications capable of making much resistance. Those in Charlestown harbour are now in a very shattered condition, occasioned by the late violent storms and hurricanes, which already cost this country a great deal of money, and now requires several thousands of pounds to repair the old and build new ones, to mount the ordnance which your majesty was graciously pleased to send us, which, with great concern, we must inform your majesty we have not yet been able to accomplish, being lately obliged, for the defence and support of this your majesty's province and government, to raise, by a tax on the inhabitants, a supply of above forty thousand pounds paper currency *per annum*, which is a considerable deal more than a third part of all the currency among us; a charge which your majesty's subjects of this province are but barely able to sustain. Since your majesty's royal instruction to your majesty's governor here, an entire stop has been put to the duties which before accrued from European goods imported; and if a war should happen, or any thing extraordinary, to be farther expensive here, we should be under the utmost difficulties to provide additionally for the same, lest an increase of taxes with an apprehension of danger, should drive away many of our present inhabitants, as well as discourage others from coming here to settle for the defence and improvement of your majesty's province, there being several daily moving with their families and effects to North Carolina, where there are no such fears and burdens.

"We must therefore beg leave to inform your majesty,

that, amidst our other perilous circumstances, we are subject to many intestine dangers from the great number of negroes that are now among us, who amount at least to twenty-two thousand persons, and are three to one of all your majesty's white subjects in this province. Insurrections against us have been often attempted, and would at any time prove very fatal if the French should instigate them, by artfully giving them an expectation of freedom. In such a situation we most humbly crave leave to acquaint your majesty, that even the present ordinary expenses necessary for the care and support of this your majesty's province and government, cannot be provided for by your majesty's subjects of this province, without your majesty's gracious pleasure to continue those laws for establishing the duty on negroes and other duties for seven years, and for appropriating the same, which now lie before your majesty for your royal assent and approbation; and the further expenses that will be requisite for the erecting some forts, and establishing garrisons in the several necessary places, so as to form a barrier for the security of this your majesty's province, we most humbly submit to your majesty.

"Your majesty's subjects of this province, with fulness of zeal, duty and affection to your most gracious and sacred majesty, are so highly sensible of the great importance of this province to the French, that we must conceive it more than probable, if a war should happen, they will use all endeavours to bring this country under their subjection; they would be thereby enabled to support their sugar islands with all sorts of provisions and lumber by an easy navigation, which to our great advantage is not so practicable from the present French colonies, besides the facility of gaining then to their interest most of the Indian trade on the northern continent; they might then easily unite the Canadees and Choctaws, with the many other nations of Indians which are now in their interest. And the several ports and harbours of Carolina and Georgia, which now enable your majesty to be absolute master of the passage through the

Gulf of Florida, and to impede, at your pleasure, the transportation home of the Spanish treasure, would then prove so many convenient harbours for your majesty's enemies, by their privateers or ships of war to annoy a great part of the British trade to America, as well as that which is carried on through the gulf from Jamaica; besides the loss which Great Britain must feel in so considerable a part of its navigation, as well as the exports of masts, pitch, tar, and turpentine, which, without any dependence on the northern parts of Europe, are from hence plentifully supplied for the use of the British shipping.

"This is the present state and condition of your majesty's province of South Carolina, utterly incapable of finding funds sufficient for the defence of this wide frontier, and so destitute of white men, that even money itself cannot here raise a sufficient body of them.

"With all humility we therefore beg leave to lay ourselves at the feet of your majesty, humbly imploring your majesty's most gracious care in the extremities we should be reduced to on the breaking out of a war; and that your majesty would be graciously pleased to extend your protection to us, as your majesty, in your great wisdom, shall think proper."

In the mean time the trustees for Georgia had been employed in framing a plan of settlement, and establishing such public regulations as they judged most proper for answering the great end of the corporation. In this general plan they considered each inhabitant both as a planter and a soldier, who must be provided with arms and ammunition for defence, as well as with tools and utensils for cultivation. As the strength of the province was their chief object in view, they agreed to establish such tenures for holding lands in it as they judged most favourable for a military establishment. Each tract of land granted was considered as a military fief, for which the possessor was to appear in arms, and take the field, when called upon for the public defence. To prevent large tracts from falling in

process of time into one hand, they agreed to grant their lands in tail male in preference to tail general. On the termination of the estate in tail male, the lands were to revert to the trust; and such lands thus reverting were to be granted again to such persons, as the common council of the trust should judge most advantageous for the colony; only the trustees in such a case were to pay special regard to the daughters of such persons as had made improvements on their lots, especially when not already provided for by marriage. The wives of such persons as should survive them, were to be during their lives entitled to the mansion-house, and one half of the lands improved by their husbands. No man was to be permitted to depart the province without license. If any part of the lands granted by the trustees, shall not be cultivated, cleared, and fenced round about with a worm fence, or pales, six feet high, within eighteen years from the date of the grant, such part was to revert to the trust, and the grant with respect to it to be void. All forfeitures for non-residence, high treason, felonies, &c., were to the trustees for the use and benefit of the colony. The use of negroes was to be absolutely prohibited, and also the importation of rum. None of the colonists were to be permitted to trade with the Indians, but such as should obtain a special license for that purpose.

These were some of the fundamental regulations established by the trustees of Georgia, and perhaps the imagination of man could scarcely have framed a system of rules worse adapted to the circumstances and situation of the poor settlers, and of more pernicious consequence to the prosperity of the province. Yet, although the trustees were greatly mistaken, with respect to their plan of settlement, it must be acknowledged their views were generous. As the people sent out by them were the poor and unfortunate, who were to be provided with necessaries at their public store, they received their lands upon condition of cultivation, and by their personal residence, of defence. Silk and wine being the chief articles intended to be raised, they

judged negroes were not requisite to these purposes. As the colony was designed to be a barrier to South Carolina, against the Spanish settlement at Augustine, they imagined that negroes would rather weaken than strengthen it, and that such poor colonists would run into debt, and ruin themselves by purchasing them. Rum was judged pernicious to health, and ruinous to the infant settlement. A free trade with Indians was considered as a thing that might have a tendency to involve the people in quarrels and troubles with the powerful savages, and expose them to danger and destruction. Such were probably the motives which induced those humane and generous persons to impose such foolish and ridiculous restrictions on their colony. For by granting their small estates in tail male, they drove the settlers from Georgia, who soon found that abundance of lands could be obtained in America upon a larger scale, and on much better terms. By the prohibition of negroes, they rendered it impracticable in such a climate to make any impression on the thick forest, Europeans being utterly unqualified for the heavy task. By their discharging a trade with the West Indies, they not only deprived the colonists of an excellent and convenient market for their lumber, of which they had abundance on their lands, but also of rum, which, when mixed with a sufficient quantity of water, has been found in experience the cheapest, the most refreshing, and nourishing drink for workmen in such a foggy and burning climate. The trustees, like other distant legislators, who framed their regulations upon principles of speculation, were liable to many errors and mistakes, and however good their design, their rules were found improper and impracticable. The Carolineans plainly perceived, that they would prove insurmountable obstacles to the progress and prosperity of the colony, and therefore from motives of pity began to invite the poor Georgians to come over Savanna river, and settle in Carolina, being convinced that they could never succeed under such impolitic and oppressive restrictions.

Besides the large sums of money which the trustees had expended for the settlement of Georgia, the parliament had also granted during the two past years thirty-six thousand pounds towards carrying into execution the humane purpose of the corporation. But after the representation and memorial from the legislature of Carolina reached Britain, the nation considered Georgia to be of the utmost importance to the British settlements in America, and began to make still more vigorous efforts for its speedy population. The first embarkations of poor people from England, being collected from towns and cities, were found equally idle and useless members of society abroad, as they had been at home. A hardy and bold race of men, inured to rural labour and fatigue, they were persuaded would be much better adapted both for cultivation and defence. To find men possessed of these qualifications, the trustees turned their eyes to Germany and the Highlands of Scotland, and resolved to send over a number of Scotch and German labourers to their infant province. When they published their terms at Inverness, a hundred and thirty Highlanders immediately accepted them, and were transported to Georgia. A township on the river Altamaha, which was considered as the boundary between the British and Spanish territories, was allotted for the Highlanders, on which dangerous situation they settled, and built a town, which they called New Inverness. About the same time a hundred and seventy Germans embarked with James Oglethorpe, and were fixed in another quarter; so that, in the space of three years, Georgia received above four hundred British subjects, and about a hundred and seventy foreigners. Afterward several adventurers, both from Scotland and Germany, followed their countrymen, and added further strength to the province, and the trustees flattered themselves with the hopes of soon seeing it in a promising condition.

The same year Carolina lost Robert Johnson, her favourite governor, whose death was as much lamented by the people, as during his life he had been beloved and respected.

The province having been much indebted to his wisdom, courage and abilities, to perpetuate his memory among them, and, in testimony of their esteem, a monument was erected in their church at the public expense. After his decease the government devolved on Thomas Broughton, a plain honest man, but little distinguished either for his knowledge or valour. As the welfare of the province depended greatly on its government, no man ought to be entrusted with such a charge but men of approved virtue and capacity. There is as much danger arising to a community from a feeble and contemptible government, as from an excess of power committed to its rulers. Weak and inexperienced hands hold the reins of government with awkwardness and difficulty, and being easily imposed upon, their authority sinks into contempt. At this time many of the leading men of the colony scrupled not to practise impositions, and being eagerly bent on engrossing lands, the lieutenant-governor freely granted them warrants; and the planters, provided they acquired large possessions, were not very scrupulous about the legality of the way and manner in which they were obtained.

James Oglethorpe having brought a number of great guns with him from England, now began to fortify Georgia, by erecting strongholds on its frontiers, where he judged they might be useful for its safety and protection. At one place, which he called Augusta, a fort was erected on the banks of Savanna river, which was excellently situated for protecting the Indian trade, and holding treaties of commerce and alliance with several of the savage nations. At another place, called Frederica, on an island nigh the mouth of the river Alatamaha, another fort, with four regular bastions, was erected, and several pieces of cannon were mounted on it. Ten miles nearer the sea a battery was raised, commanding the entrance into the sound, through which all ships of force must come that might be sent against Frederica. To keep little garrisons in these forts, to help the trustees to defray the expenses of such public

works, ten thousand pounds were granted by the parliament of Great Britain.

While James Oglethorpe was thus busily employed in strengthening Georgia, he received a message from the governor of Augustine, acquainting him that a Spanish commissioner from the Havanna had arrived there, in order to make certain demands of him, and would meet him at Frederica for that purpose. At the same time he had advice, that three companies of foot had come along with him to that Spanish settlement. A few days afterward this commissioner came to Georgia by sea, and Oglethorpe, unwilling to permit him to come to Frederica, despatched a sloop to bring him into Jekyl Sound, where he intended to hold a conference with him. Here the commissioner had the modesty to demand, that Oglethorpe and his people should immediately evacuate all the territories to the southward of St. Helena Sound, as they belonged to the king of Spain, who was determined to maintain his right to them; and if he refused to comply with his demand, he had orders to proceed to Charlestown and lay the same before the governor and council of that province. Oglethorpe endeavoured to convince him that his Catholic majesty had been misinformed with respect to those territories, but to no purpose; his instructions were peremptory, and the conference broke up without coming to any agreement. After which Oglethorpe embarked with all possible expedition, and sailed for England.

During his absence the strict law of the trustees, respecting the rum trade, had like to have created a quarrel between the Carolineans and Georgians. The fortification at Augusta had induced some traders of Carolina to open stores at that place, so conveniently situated for commerce with Indian nations. For this purpose, land carriage being expensive, they intended to force their way by water with loaded boats up Savanna river to their stores at Augusta. But as they passed the town of Savanna, the magistrates rashly ordered the boats to be stopped, the packages to be

opened, the casks of rum to be staved, and the people to be confined. Such injurious treatment was not to be suffered; the Carolineans determined to give a check to their insolence, and for that purpose deputed two persons, one from the council and another from the assembly, to demand of the Georgians by what authority they presumed to seize and destroy the effects of their traders, or to compel them to submit to their code of laws. The magistrates of Georgia, sensible of their error, made great concessions to the deputies, and treated them with the utmost civility and respect. The goods were instantly ordered to be returned, the people to be set at liberty, and all manner of satisfaction was given to the deputies they could have expected. Strict orders were sent to the agents of Georgia among Indians not to molest the traders from Carolina, but to give them all the assistance and protection in their power. The Carolineans, on the other hand, engaged not to smuggle any strong liquors among the settlers of Georgia, and the navigation on the river Savanna was declared equally open and free to both provinces.

About the same time the French took the field against the emperor; and the flames of war kindling between such powerful potentates, would, it was thought, inevitably spread, and involve all Europe in the quarrel. In case Great Britain should interfere in this matter, and declare in favor of the emperor, orders were sent out to the governors of Quebec and New Orleans to invade the weakest frontiers of the British settlements of America. For this purpose an army was formed in New France, and preparations were made for uniting the force of Canada and Louisiana to attack Carolina. But before this design was put in execution, advice came, that the clouds of war which threatened Europe were dispersed, and a general peace was restored, by the mediation of Britain and Holland. This put a stop to the motions of the main body in Canada; however, a detachment of two hundred French and four hundred Indians were sent down the Mississippi, to meet a party from New Orleans to cut

off the Chickesaw Indians. This tribe were the firm allies of Britain, and the bravest nation of savages on the continent, but consisted only of between six and eight hundred gun-men. The French having encroached on their lands, and built some forts nigh them, had on that account drawn upon themselves their invincible enmity and resentment. The Chickesaws had long obstinately opposed their progress up the river Mississippi, and were now the chief obstacle that prevented a regular communication between Louisiana and Canada. The French determined to remove it, by extirpating this troublesome nation, and for this purpose fell down the river in boats to the place where they expected to meet their friends from New Orleans. But the party from the southward not coming up at the time appointed, and the Canadians thinking themselves strong enough for the enterprize, began the war by attacking the Chickesaw towns. Upon which the savages gathered together above three hundred warriors, gave the French battle in an open field, and, though with considerable loss, completely defeated them. Above forty Frenchmen and eight Indians were killed on the spot, and the rest were taken prisoners, among whom was their commander, and chief, brother to Mons. Bienville, Governor of New Orleans. Hard was the fate of the unfortunate prisoners, who for several days were kept almost perishing with hunger in the wilderness, and at last were tied to a stake, tortured, and burned to death. Another party of French from Mobile, in the same year, advanced against the Creeks, who were also unsuccessful, and obliged to retreat with considerable loss. Carolina rejoiced at those disasters, and began now more than ever to court the friendship and interest of these rude nations in their neighborhood, considering them as the best barrier against their natural enemies.

By this time the Episcopalian form of divine worship had gained ground in Carolina, and was more countenanced by the people than any other. That zeal for the right of private judgment had much abated, and those prejudices

against the hierarchy, which the first emigrants carried from England with them, were now almost entirely worn off from the succeeding generation. To bring about this change, no doubt the well-timed zeal and extensive bounty of the society, incorporated for the propagation of the Gospel, had greatly contributed. At this time the corporation had no less than twelve missionaries in Carolina, each of whom shared of their bounty. Indeed, a mild church-government, together with able, virtuous, and prudent teachers, in time commonly give the establishment in every country a superiority over all sectaries. Spacious churches had been erected in the province, which were pretty well supplied with clergymen, who were paid from the public treasury, and countenanced by the civil authority, all which favoured the established church. The dissenters of Carolina were not only obliged to erect and uphold their churches, and maintain their clergy by private contributions, but also to contribute their share in the way of taxes, in proportion to their ability equally with their neighbours, towards the maintenance of the poor, and the support of the establishment. This indeed many of them considered as a grievance, but having but few friends in the provincial assembly, no redress could be obtained for them. Besides, the establishment gave its adherents many advantageous privileges in point of power and authority over persons of other denominations. It gave them the best chance for being elected members of the legislature, and of course of being appointed to offices, both civil and military in their respective districts. Over youthful minds, fond of power, pomp, and military parade, such advantages have great weight. Dissenters indeed had the free choice of their ministers, but even this is often the cause of division. When differences happen in a parish, the minority must yield, and therefore through private pique, discontent or resentment, they often conform to the establishment. It is always difficult, and often impossible for a minister to please all parties, especially where all claim an equal right to judge and choose

for themselves, and divisions and subdivisions seldom fail to ruin the power and influence of all sectaries. This was evidently the case in Carolina: for many of the posterity of rigid dissenters were now found firm adherents to the church of England, which had grown numerous on the ruins of the dissenting interest.

However, the emigrants from Scotland and Ireland, most of whom were Presbyterians, still composed a considerable party of the province, and kept up by the Presbyterian form of worship in it. Archibald Stobo, of whom I have formerly taken notice, by great diligence and ability still preserved a number of followers. An association had been formed in favour of this mode of religious worship, by Messrs. Stobo, Fisher, and Witherspoon, three ministers of the church of Scotland, together with Joseph Stanyarn, and Joseph Blake, men of respectable characters and considerable fortunes. The Presbyterians had already erected churches at Charlestown, Wiltown, and in three of the maritime islands, for the use of the people adhering to that form of religious worship. As the inhabitants multiplied, several more in different parts of the province afterward joined them, and built churches, particularly at Jacksonburgh, Indian Town, Port-Royal, and Williamsburgh. The first clergymen having received their ordination in the church of Scotland, the fundamental rules of the association were framed according to the forms, doctrines, and discipline of that establishment, to which they agreed to conform as closely as their local circumstances would admit. These ministers adopted this mode of religious worship, not only from a persuasion of its conformity to the primitive apostolic form, but also from a conviction of its being, of all others the most favourable to civil liberty, equality, and independence. Sensible that not only natural endowments, but also a competent measure of learning and acquired knowledge were necessary to qualify men for the sacred function, and enable them to discharge the duties of it with honour and success, they associated on purpose to prevent deluded mechanics, and illiterate novices

from creeping into the pulpit, to the disgrace of the character, and the injury of religion. In different parts of the province, persons of this stamp had appeared, who cried down all establishments, both civil and religious, and seduced weak minds from the duties of allegiance, and all that the presbytery could do was to prevent them from teaching under the sanction of their authority. But this association of Presbyterians having little countenance from government, and no name or authority in law, their success depended wholly on the superior knowledge, popular talents and exemplary life of their ministers. From time to time clergymen were afterward sent out at the request of the people from Scotland and Ireland; and the colonists contributed to maintain them, till at length funds were established in trust by private legacies and donations, to be appropriated for the support of Presbyterian ministers, and the encouragement of that mode of religious worship and government.

I have several times made remarks on the paper currency of the province, which the planters were always for increasing, and the merchants and money lenders for sinking. The exchange of London, like a commercial thermometer, served to measure the rise or fall of paper-credit in Carolina; and the price of bills of exchange commonly ascertained the value of their current money. The permanent riches of the country consisted in lands, houses, and negroes; and the produce of the lands, improved by negroes, raw materials, provisions, and naval stores, were exchanged for what the province wanted from other countries. The attention of the mercantile part was chiefly employed about staple commodities; and as their great object was present profit, it was natural for them to be governed by that great axiom in trade, whoever brings commodities cheapest and in the best order to market, must always meet with the greatest encouragement and success. The planters, on the other hand, attended to the balance of trade, which was turned in their favour, and concluded, that when the exports of any province exceeded its imports, whatever losses private persons might now and

then sustain, yet that province upon the whole was growing rich. Let us suppose, what was indeed far from being the case, that Georgia so far advanced in improvement as to rival Carolina in raw materials, and exchangeable commodities, and to undersell her at the markets in Europe: This advantage could only arise from the superior quality of her lands, the cheapness of her labour, or her landed men being contented with smaller profits. In such a case it was the business of the Carolina merchants to lower the price of her commodities, in order to reap the same advantages with her neighbours; and this could only be done by reducing the quantity of paper-money in circulation. If gold and silver only passed current in Georgia, which by general consent was the medium of commerce throughout the world, if she had a sufficient quantity of them to answer the purposes of trade, and no paper currency had been permitted to pass current; in such case her commodities would bring their full value at the provincial market, and no more, according to the general standard of money in Europe. Supposing also that Carolina had a quantity of gold and silver in circulation, sufficient for the purposes of commerce, and that the planters, in order to raise the value of their produce, should issue paper money equal to the quantity of gold and silver in circulation, the consequence would be, the price of labour, and of all articles of exportation would be doubled. But as the markets of Europe remained the same, and her commodities being of the same kind and quality with those of Georgia, they would not bring a higher price. Some persons must be losers, and in the first instance this loss must fall on the mercantile interest, and moneyed men. Therefore this superabundance of paper credit, on whose foundation the deluded province built its visionary fabric of great wealth, was not only useless, but prejudicial with respect to the community. Paper money in such large quantities is the bane of commerce, a kind of fictitious wealth, making men by high sounding language imagine they are worth thousands and millions, while a ship's load of it would not

procure for the country a regiment of auxiliary troops in time of war, nor a suit of clothes at an European market in time of peace. Had America, from its first settlement, prohibited paper money altogether, her staple commodities must have brought her, in the course of commerce, vast sums of gold and silver, which would have circulated through the continent, and answered all the purposes of trade both foreign and domestic. It is true the value of gold and silver is equally nominal, and rises and falls like the value of other articles of commerce, in proportion to the quality in circulation. But as nations in general have fixed on these metals as the medium of trade, this has served to stamp a value on them, and render them the means not only of procuring every where the necessaries of life, but by supporting public credit, the chief means also of national protection.

However, some distinction in point of policy should perhaps be made between a colony in its infancy, and a nation already possessed of wealth, and in an advanced state of agriculture and commerce, especially while the former is united to, and under the protection of the latter. To a growing colony, such as Carolina, paper-credit, under certain limitations, was useful in several respects; especially as the gold and silver always left the country, when it answered the purpose of the merchant for remittance better than produce. This credit served to procure the planter strength of hands to clear and cultivate his fields, from which the real wealth of the province arose. But in an improved country such as England, supported by labourers, manufacturers and trade, large emissions of paper money lessen the value of gold and silver, and both cause them to leave the country, and its produce and manufactures to come dearer to market. Adventurous planters in Carolina, eager to obtain a number of negroes, always stretched ther credit with the traders to its utmost pitch; for as negroes on good lands cleared themselves in a few years, they by this means made an annual addition to their capital stock. After obtaining this credit, it then became their interest to maintain their

superiority in assembly, and discharge their debt to the merchants in the easiest manner they could. The increase of paper money always proved to them a considerable assistance, as it advanced the price of those commodities they brought to the market, by which they cancelled their debts with the merchants; so that however much this currency might depreciate, the loss occasioned by it from time to time fell not on the adventurous planters, but on the merchants and money-lenders, who were obliged to take it in payment of debts, or produce, which always rose in price in proportion to its depreciation.

In excuse for increasing provincial paper money the planters always plead the exigencies of the public, such as warlike expeditions, raising fortifications, providing military stores, and maintaining garrisons; those no doubt rendered the measure sometimes necessary, and often reasonable, but private interest had also considerable weight in adopting it, and carrying it into execution. In the year 1737, a bill of exchange on London, for a hundred pounds sterling, sold for seven hundred and fifty pounds Carolina currency. Of this the merchants might complain, but from this period they had too little weight in the public councils to obtain any redress. The only resource left for them was to raise the price of negroes and British articles of importation, according to the advanced price of produce, and bills of exchange. However, the exchange again fell to seven hundred *per cent.* at which standard it afterward rested and remained.

By this time the poor colonists of Georgia, after trial, had become fully convinced of the impropriety and folly of that plan of settlement framed by the trustees, which, however well intended, was ill adapted to their circumstances, and ruinous to the settlement. In the province of Carolina, which lay adjacent, the colonists discovered that there they could obtain lands not only on better terms, but also liberty to purchase negroes to assist in clearing and cultivating them. They found labour in the burning climate intolerable, and the dangers and hardships to which they were sub-

jected unsurmountable. Instead of raising commodities for exportation, the Georgians, by the labour of several years, were not yet able to raise provisions sufficient to support themselves and families. Under such discouragements, numbers retired to the Carolina side of the river, where they had better prospects of success, and the magistrates observed the infant colony sinking into ruin, and likely to be totally deserted. The freeholders in and round Savanna assembled together, and drew up a state of their deplorable circumstances, and transmitted it to the trustses, in which they represented their success in Georgia as a thing absolutely impossible, without the enjoyment of the same liberties and privileges with their neighbours in Carolina. In two respects they implored relief from the trustees; they desired a fee-simple or free title to their lands, and liberty to import negroes under certain limitations, without which they declared they had neither encouragement to labour, nor ability to provide for their posterity. But the colony of Highlanders, instead of joining in this application, to a man remonstrated against the introduction of slaves. As they lay contiguous to the Spanish dominions, they were apprehensive that these enemies would entice their slaves from them in time of peace, and in time of war instigate them to rise against their masters. Besides, they considered perpetual slavery as shocking to human nature, and deemed the permission of it as a grievance, and which in some future day might also prove a scourge, and make many feel the smart of that oppression they so earnestly desired to introduce. For as the Spaniards had proclaimed freedom to them, they alleged that slaves would run away, and ruin poor planters; and at all events would disqualify them the more for defending the province against external enemies, while their families were exposed to barbarous domestics, provoked perhaps by harsh usage, or grown desperate through misery and oppression.

Few persons who are acquainted with the country will wonder at the complaints of the poor settlers in Georgia; for

if we consider the climate to which they were sent, and the labours and hardships they had to undergo, we may rather be astonished that any of them survived the first year after their arrival. When James Oglethorpe took possession of this wilderness, the whole was an immense thick forest, excepting savannas, which are natural plains where no trees grow, and a few Indian fields, where the savages planted maize for their subsistence. In the province there were the same wild animals, fishes, reptiles and insects, which were found in Carolina. The country in the maritime parts was likewise a spacious plain, covered with pine trees, where the lands were barren and sandy; and with narrow slips of oaks, hickory, cypress, cane, &c. where the lands were of a better quality. Rains, thunder-storms, hurricanes, and whirlwinds, were equally frequent in the one province as in the other. Little difference could be perceived in the soil, which in both was barren or swampy; and the same diseases were common to both. The lands being covered with wood, through which the sea-breezes could not penetrate, there was little agitation in the air, which at some seasons was thick, heavy and foggy, and at others clear, close, and suffocating, both which are very pernicious to health. The air of the swampy land was pregnant with innumerable noxious qualities, insomuch that a more unwholesome climate was not perhaps to be found in the universe. The poor settlers considered this howling wilderness to which they were brought, to have been designed by nature rather for the habitation of wild beasts than human creatures. They found that diseases, or even misfortunes were in effect equally fatal: for though neither of them might prove mortal, yet either would disable them from living, and reduce them to a state in which they might more properly be said to perish than to die.

Nothing has retarded the progress and improvement of these southern settlements more than the inattention shown to the natural productions of the soil, and the preference which has commonly been given to articles transplanted

from Europe. Over the whole world different articles of produce are suited to different soils and climates. As Georgia lay so convenient for supplying the West Indies with maize, Indian pease, and potatoes, for which the demand was very great, perhaps the first planters could scarcely have turned their attention to more profitable articles, but without strength of hands little advantage could be reaped from them. It is true the West India Islands would produce such articles, yet the planters would never cultivate them, while they could obtain them by purchase: the lands there suited other productions more valuable and advantageous. Abundance of flock, particularly hogs and black cattle, might have been raised in Georgia for the same market. Lumber was also in demand, and might have been rendered profitable to the province, but nothing could succeed there under the foolish restrictions of the trustees. European grain, such as wheat, oats, barley, and rye, thrived very ill on the maritime parts; and even silk and wine were found upon trial by no means to answer their expectations. The bounties given for raising the latter were an encouragement to the settlers, but either no pains were taken to instruct the people in the proper methods of raising them, or the soil and climate were ill adapted for the purpose. The poor and ignorant planters applied themselves to those articles of husbandry to which probably they had been formerly accustomed, but which poorly rewarded them and left them, after all their toil, in a starved and miserable condition.

The complaints of the Georgians, however ignorant they might be, ought not to have been entirely disregarded by the trustees. Experience suggested those inconveniencies and troubles from which they implored relief. The hints they gave certainly ought to have been improved towards correcting errors in the first plan of settlement, and framing another more favourable and advantageous. Such scattered thoughts of individuals sometimes afford wise men materials for forming just judgments, and improving towards the establishment of the best and most beneficial regulations.

The people governed ought never to be excluded from the attention and regard of their governors. The honour of the trustees depended on the success and happiness of the settlers, and it was impossible for the people to succeed and be happy without those encouragements, liberties and privileges absolutely necessary to the first state of colonization. A free title to their land, liberty to choose it, and then to manage it in such a manner as appeared to themselves most conducive to their interest, were the principal incentives to industry; and industry, well directed, is the grand source of opulence to every country.

It must be acknowledged, for the credit of the benevolent trustees, that they sent out these emigrants to Georgia under several very favourable circumstances. They paid the expenses of their passage, and furnished them with clothes, arms, ammunition, and instruments of husbandry. They gave them lands, and bought for some of them cows and hogs to begin their stock. They maintained their families during the first year of their occupancy, or until they should receive some return from their lands. So that if the planters were exposed to hazards from the climate, and obliged to undergo labour, they certainly entered on their task with several advantages. The taxes demanded, comparatively speaking, were a mere trifle. For their encouragement they wrought entirely for themselves, and for some time were favoured with a free and generous maintenance.

By this time an account of the great privileges and indulgences granted by the crown for the encouragement of emigration to Carolina, had been published through Britain and Ireland, and many industrious people in different parts had resolved to take the benefit of his majesty's bounty. Multitudes of labourers and husbandmen in Ireland, oppressed by landlords and bishops, and unable by their utmost diligence to procure a comfortable subsistence for their families, embarked for Carolina. The first colony of Irish people had lands granted them near Santee river, and formed the settlement called Williamsburgh township. But not-

withstanding the bounty of the crown, these poor emigrants remained for several years in low and miserable circumstances. The rigours of the climate, joined to the want of precaution, so common to strangers, proved fatal to numbers of them. Having but scanty provisions in the first age of cultivation, vast numbers, by their heavy labour, being both debilitated in body and dejected in spirit, sickened and died in the woods. But as this township received frequent supplies from the same quarter, the Irish settlement, amidst every hardship, increased in number; and at length they applied to the merchants for negroes, who entrusted them with a few, by which means they were relieved from the severest part of the labour, then, by their great diligence and industry, spots of land were gradually cleared, which in the first place yielded them provisions, and in process of time became moderate and fruitful estates.

CHAPTER VIII.

For several years before an open rupture took place between Great Britain and Spain, no good understanding subsisted between those two different courts, neither with respect to the privileges of navigation on the Mexican seas, nor to the limits between the provinces of Georgia and Florida. On one hand, the Spaniards pretended that they had an exclusive right to some latitudes in the bay of Mexico; and on the other, though the matter had never been clearly ascertained by treaty, the British merchants claimed the privilege of cutting logwood on the bay of Campeachy. This liberty indeed had been tolerated on the part of Spain for several years, and the British merchants, from avaricious motives, had begun a traffic with the Spaniards, and supplied them with goods of English manufacture. To prevent this illicit trade, the Spaniards doubled the number of ships stationed in Mexico for guarding the coast, giving them orders to board and search every English vessel found in those seas, to seize on all that carried contraband commodities, and confine the sailors. At length not only smugglers, but fair traders were searched and detained, so that all commerce in those seas was entirely obstructed. The British merchants again and again complained to the ministry of depredations committed, and damages sustained; which indeed produced one remonstrance after another to the Spanish court; all which were answered only by evasive promises and delays. The Spaniards flattered the British minister, by telling him, they would inquire into the

occasion of such grievances, and settle all differences by way of negociation. Sir Robert Walpole, fond of pacific measures, and trusting to such proposals of accommodation, for several years suffered the grievances of the merchants to remain unredressed, and the trade of the nation to suffer great losses.

In the year 1738, Samuel Horsley was appointed governor of South Carolina, but he dying before he left England, the charge of the province devolved on William Bull, a man of good natural abilities, and well acquainted with the state of the province. The garrison at Augustine having received a considerable reinforcement, it therefore became the business of the people of Carolina, as well as those of Georgia, to watch the motions of their neighbours. As the Spaniards pretended a right to that province, they were pouring in troops into Augustine, which gave the British colonists some reason to apprehend they had resolved to assert their right by force of arms. William Bull despatched advice to England of the growing power of Spain in East Florida, and at the same time acquainted the trustees, that such preparations were making there as evidently portended approaching hostilities. The British ministers were well acquainted with the state of Carolina, from a late representation transmitted by its provincial legislature. The trustees for Georgia presented a memorial to the king, giving an acount of the Spanish preparations, and the feeble and defenceless condition of Georgia, and imploring his Majesty's gracious assistance. In consequence of which, a regiment of six hundred effective men was ordered to be raised, with a view of sending them to Georgia. The king having made James Oglethorpe major-general of all the forces of the two provinces, gave him the command of this regiment and ordered him out for the protection of the southern frontiers of the British dominions in America.

About the middle of the same year, the Hector and Blandford ships of war sailed, to convoy the transports which carried General Oglethorpe and his regiment to that

province. Forty supernumeraries followed the general to supply the place of such officers or soldiers as might sicken and die by the change of the climate. Upon the arrival of this regiment, the people of Carolina and Georgia rejoiced, and testified their grateful sense of his majesty's paternal care in the strongest terms. The Georgians, who had been for some time harassed with frequent alarms, now found themselves happily relieved, and placed in such circumstances as enabled them to bid defiance to the Spanish power. Parties of the regiment were sent to the different garrisons, and the expense the trustees had formerly been at in maintaining them of course ceased. The general held his head-quarters at Frederica, but raised forts on some other islands lying nearer the Spaniards, particularly in Cumberland and Jekyl islands, in which he also kept garrisons to watch the motions of his enemies.

While these hostile preparations were going on, it behoved General Oglethorpe to cultivate the firmest friendship with Indian nations, that they might be ready on every emergency to assist him. During his absence the Spaniards had made several attempts to seduce the Creeks, who were much attached to Oglethorpe, by telling them he was at Augustine, and promised them great presents in case they would pay him a visit at that place. Accordingly some of their leaders went down to see the beloved man, but not finding him there, they were highly offended, and resolved immediately to return to their nation. The Spanish governor, in order to cover the fraud, or probably with a design of conveying those leaders out of the way, that they might the more easily corrupt their nation; told them, that the general lay sick on board of a ship in the harbour, where he would be extremely glad to see them. But the savages were jealous of some bad design, and refused to go, and even rejected their presents and offers of alliance. When they returned to their nation, they found an invitation from General Oglethorpe to all the chieftains to meet him at Frederica, which plainly discovered to them the insidious designs of the Spaniards,

and helped not a little to increase his power and influence among them. A number of their head warriors immediately set out to meet him at the place appointed, where the general thanked them for their fidelity, made them many valuable presents, and renewed the treaty of friendship and alliance with them. At this congress the Creeks seemed better satisfied than usual, agreed to march a thousand men to the general's assistance whenever he should demand them, and invited him up to see their towns. But as he was then busy, he excused himself, by promising to visit them next summer, and accordingly dismissed them no less pleased with his kindness, than incensed against the Spaniards for their falsehood and deceit.

By this time the king of England had resolved to vindicate the honour of his crown, and maintain his right to those territories in Georgia, together with the freedom of commerce and navigation in the Mexican seas. The pacific system of Sir Robert Walpole had drawn upon him the displeasure of the nation, particularly of the mercantile part; and that amazing power and authority he had long maintained began to decline. The spirit of the nation was roused, insomuch that the administration could no longer wink at the insults, depredations, and cruelties of Spain. Instructions were sent to the British ambassador at the court of Madrid, to demand in the most absolute terms a compensation for the injuries of trade, which, upon calculation, amounted to two hundred thousand pounds sterling; and at the same time a squadron of ten ships of the line, under the command of Admiral Haddock, was sent to the Mediterranean sea. This produced an order from the Spanish court to their ambassador, to allow the accounts of the British merchants, upon condition that the Spanish demand on the South Sea company be deducted: and that Oglethorpe be recalled from Georgia, and no more employed in that quarter, as he had there made great encroachments on his Catholic Majesty's dominions. These conditions were received at the court of

Britain with that indignation which might have been expected from an injured and incensed nation. In answer to which, the Spanish ambassador was given to understand, that the king of Great Britain was determined never to relinquish his right to a single foot of land in the province of Georgia; and that he must allow his subjects to make reprisals, since satisfaction for their losses in trade could in no other way be obtained. In this unsettled situation, however, matters remained for a little while between those two powerful potentates.

In the mean time preparations were making both in Georgia and Florida, by raising fortifications on the borders of the two provinces, to hold each other at defiance. The British soldiers finding themselves subjected to a number of hardships in Georgia, to which they had not been accustomed in Britain, several of them were discontented and ungovernable. At length a plot was discovered in the camp for assassinating their general. Two companies of the regiment had been drawn from Gibraltar, some of whom could speak the Spanish language. While stationed on Cumberland island, the Spanish out-posts on the other side could approach so near as to converse with the British soldiers, one of whom had even been in the Spanish service, and not only understood their language, but also had so much of a Roman Catholic spirit as to harbour an aversion to Protestant heretics. The Spaniards had found means to corrupt this villain, who debauched the minds of several of his neighbours, insomuch that they united and formed a design first to murder General Oglethorpe, and then make their escape to Augustine. Accordingly, on a certain day a number of soldiers under arms came up to the general, and made some extraordinary demands; which being refused, they instantly cried out, one and all, and immediately one of them discharged his piece at him: and being only at the distance of a few paces, the ball whizzed over his shoulder, but the powder singed his clothes, and burnt his face. Another presented his piece, which flashed in the pan; a third drew

his hanger and attempted to stab him, but the general parrying it off, an officer standing by run the ruffian through the body, and killed him on the spot. Upon which the mutineers ran, but were caught and laid in irons. A court-martial was called to try the ringleaders of this desperate conspiracy, some of whom were found guilty and condemned to be shot, in order to deter others from such dangerous attempts.

Nor was this the only concealed effort of Spanish policy; another, of a more dangerous nature, soon followed in Carolina, which might have been attended with much more bloody and fatal effects. At this time there were above forty thousand negroes in the province, a fierce, hardy, and strong race, whose constitutions were adapted to the warm climate, whose nerves were braced with constant labour, and who could scarcely be supposed to be contented with that oppressive yoke under which they groaned. Long had liberty and protection been promised and proclaimed to them by the Spaniards at Augustine, nor were all the negroes in the province strangers to the proclamation. At different times Spanish emissaries had been found secretly tampering with them, and persuading them to fly from slavery to Florida, and several had made their escape to that settlement. Of these negro refugees the governor of Florida had formed a regiment, appointing officers from among themselves, allowing them the same pay, and clothing them in the same uniform with the regular Spanish soldiers. The most sensible part of the slaves in Carolina were not ignorant of this Spanish regiment, for whenever they ran away from their masters, they constantly directed their course to this quarter. To no place could negro sergeants be sent for enlisting men where they could have a better prospect of success. Two Spaniards were caught in Georgia, and committed to jail, for enticing slaves to leave Carolina and join this regiment. Five negroes, who were cattle hunters at Indian Land, some of whom belonged to Captain M'Pherson, after wounding his son and killing another man, made

their escape. Several more attempting to get away were taken, tried, and hanged at Charlestown.

While Carolina was kept in a state of constant fear and agitation from this quarter, an insurrection openly broke out in the heart of the settlement which alarmed the whole province. A number of negroes having assembled together at Stono, first surprised and killed two young men in a warehouse, and then plundered it of guns and ammunition. Being thus provided with arms, they elected one of their number captain, and agreed to follow him, marching towards the south-west with colours flying and drums beating, like a disciplined company. They forcibly entered the house of Mr. Godfrey, and having murdered him, his wife, and children, they took all the arms he had in it, set fire to the house, and then proceeded towards Jacksonsburg. In their way they plundered and burnt every house, among which were those of Sacheveral, Nash, and Spry, killing every white person they found in them, and compelling the negroes to join them. Governor Bull returning to Charlestown from the southward, met them, and, observing them armed, quickly rode out of their way. He spread the alarm, which soon reached the Presbyterian church at Wiltown, where Archibald Stobo was preaching to a numerous congregation of planters in that quarter. By a law of the province all planters were obliged to carry their arms to church, which at this critical juncture proved a very useful and necessary regulation. The women were left in church trembling with fear, while the militia, under the command of Captain Bee, marched in quest of the negroes, who by this time had become formidable from the number that joined them. They had marched above twelve miles, and spread desolation through all the plantations in their way. Having found rum in some houses and drunk freely of it, they halted in an open field, and began to sing and dance, by way of triumph. During these rejoicings the militia discovered them, and stationed themselves in different places around them, to prevent them from making their escape. The intoxication of several of

the slaves favoured the assailants. One party advanced into the open field and attacked them, and, having killed some negroes, the remainder took to the woods, and were dispersed. Many ran back to their plantations, in hopes of escaping suspicion from the absence of their masters; but the greater part were taken and tried. Such as had been compelled to join them contrary to their inclination were pardoned, but all the chosen leaders and first insurgents suffered death.

All Carolina was struck with terror and consternation by this insurrection, in which above twenty persons were murdered before it was quelled, and had not the people in that quarter been fortunately collected together at church, it is probable many more would have suffered. Or had it become general, the whole colony must have fallen a sacrifice to their great power and indiscriminate fury. It was commonly believed, and not without reason, that the Spaniards were deeply concerned in promoting the mischief, and by their secret influence and intrigues with slaves had instigated them to this massacre. Having already four companies of negroes in their service, by penetrating into Carolina, and putting the province into confusion, they might no doubt have raised many more. But, to prevent farther attempts, Governor Bull sent an express to General Oglethorpe with advice of the insurrection, desiring him to double his vigilance in Georgia, and seize all straggling Spaniards and negroes. In consequence of which a proclamation was issued to stop all slaves found in that province, offering a reward for every one they might catch attempting to run off. At the same time a company of rangers were employed to patrol the frontiers, and block up all passages by which they might make their escape to Florida.*

In the mean time things were hastening to a rupture in Europe, and a war between England and Spain was thought

* A very full account of this insurrection is to be found in the Carolina Gazette, in the Charlestown library.

unavoidable. The plenipotentiaries appointed for settling the boundaries between Georgia and Florida, and other differences and misunderstandings subsisting between the two crowns, had met at Pardo in convention, where preliminary articles were drawn up; but the conference ended to the satisfaction of neither party. Indeed the proposal of a negotiation, and the appointment of plenipotentiaries, gave universal offence to the people of Britain, who breathed nothing but war and vengeance against the proud and arrogant Spaniards. The merchants had lost all patience under their sufferings, and become clamorous for letters of reprisal, which at length they obtained. Public credit arose, and forwarded hostile preparations. All officers of the navy and army were ordered to their stations, and with the unanimous voice of the nation war was declared against Spain on the 23d of October, 1739.

While Admiral Vernon was sent to take the command of a squadron in the West India station, with orders to act offensively against the Spanish dominions in that quarter, to divide their force General Oglethorpe was ordered also to annoy the subjects of Spain in Florida by every method in his power. In consequence of which, the general immediately projected an expedition against the Spanish settlement at Augustine. His design he communicated by letter to Lieutenant Governor Bull, requesting the support and assistance of Carolina in the expedition. Mr. Bull laid his letter before the provincial assembly, recommending to them to raise a regiment, and give him all possible assistance in an enterprise of such interesting consequence. The assembly, sensible of the vast advantages that must accrue to them from getting rid of such troublesome neighbours, resolved that so soon as the general should communicate to them his plan of operations, together with a state of the assistance requisite, at the same time making it appear that there was a probability of success, they would most cheerfully assist him. The Carolineans, however, were apprehensive, that as that garrison had proved such a painful thorn in their side

in time of peace, they would have more to dread from it in time of war; and although the colony had been much distressed by the small pox and the yellow fever for two years past, which had cut off the hopes of many flourishing families, the people, nevertheless, lent a very favourable ear to the proposal, and earnestly wished to give all the assistance in their power towards dislodging an enemy so malicious and cruel.

In the mean time General Oglethorpe was industrious in picking up all the intelligence he could respecting the situation and strength of the garrison, and finding it in great straits for want of provisions, he urged the speedy execution of his project, with a view to surprise his enemy before a supply should arrive. He declared, that no personal toil or danger should discourage him from exerting himself towards freeing Carolina from such neighbours as had instigated their slaves to massacre them, and publicly protected them after such bloody attempts. To concert measures with the greater secrecy and expedition, he went to Charlestown himself, and laid before the legislature of Carolina an estimate of the force, arms, ammunition, and provisions, which he judged might be requisite for the expedition. In consequence of which, the assembly voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, Carolina money, for the service of the war. A regiment, consisting of four hundred men, was raised, partly in Virginia and partly in North and South Carolina, with the greatest expedition, and the command was given to Colonel Vanderdussen. Indians were sent for from the different tribes in alliance with Britain. Vincent Price, commander of the ships of war on that station, agreed to assist with a naval force consisting of four ships of twenty guns each, and two sloops, which proved a great encouragement to the Carolineans, and induced them to enter with double vigour on military preparations. General Oglethorpe appointed the mouth of St. John's river, on the Florida shore, for the place of rendezvous, and having finished his prepara-

tions in Carolina, set out for Georgia to join his regiment, and make all ready for the expedition.

On the 9th of May 1740, the general passed over to Florida with four hundred select men of his regiment, and a considerable party of Indians; and on the day following invested Diego, a small fort, about twenty-five miles from Augustine, which after a short resistance surrendered by capitulation. In this fort he left a garrison of sixty men, under the command of Lieutenant Dunbar, and returned to the place of general rendezvous, where he was joined by Colonel Vanderdussen, with the Carolina regiment, and a company of Highlanders, under the command of Captain M'Intosh. But by this time six Spanish half galleys, with long brass nine-pounders, and two sloops loaded with provisions, had got into the harbour at Augustine. A few days afterward, the general marched with his whole force, consisting of above two thousand men, regulars, provincials, and Indians, to fort Moosa, situated within two miles of Augustine, which on his approach the Spanish garrison evacuated, and retired into the town. He immediately ordered the gates of this fort to be burnt, three breaches to be made in its walls, and then proceeded to reconnoitre the town and castle.

Notwithstanding the despatch of the British army, the Spaniards, during their stay at fort Diego, had collected all the cattle in the woods around them, and drove them into the town; and the general found, both from a view of the works, and the intelligence he had received from prisoners, that more difficulty would attend this enterprise than he at first expected. Indeed, if he intended a surprise, he ought not to have stopped at fort Diego, for by that delay the enemy had notice of his approach, and time to gather their whole force, and put themselves in a posture of defence. The castle was built of soft stone, with four bastions; the curtain was sixty yards in length, the parapet nine feet thick; the rampart twenty feet high, casemated underneath for

lodgings, arched over, and newly made bomb-proof. Fifty pieces of cannon were mounted, several of which were twenty-four pounders. Besides the castle, the town was entrenched wih ten salient angles, on each of which some small cannon were mounted. The garrison consisted of seven hundred regulars, two troops of horse, four companies of armed negroes, besides the militia of the province, and Indians.

The general now plainly perceived that an attack by land upon the town, and an attempt to take the castle by storm would cost him dear before he could reduce the place, and therefore changed his plan of operations. With the assistance of the ships of war, which were now lying at anchor off Augustine bar, he resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and try to shut up every channel by which provisions could be conveyed to the garrison. For this purpose he left Colonel Palmer with ninety-five Highlanders, and forty-two Indians at fort Moosa, with orders to scour the woods around the town, and intercept all supplies of cattle from the country by land. And, for the safety of his men, he at the same time ordered him to encamp every night in a different place, to keep strict watch around his camp, and by all means avoid coming to any action. This small party was the whole force the general left for guarding the land side. Then he sent Colonel Vanderdussen, with the Carolina regiment, over a small creek, to take possession of a neck of land called Point Quartel, above a mile distant from the castle, with orders to erect a battery upon it; while he himself, with his regiment, and the greatest part of the Indians, embarked in boats, and landed on the island of Anastatia. In this island the Spaniards had a small party of men stationed for a guard, who immediately fled to town, and as it lay opposite to the castle, from this place, the general resolved to bombard the town. Captain Pierce stationed one of his ships to guard the passage, by way of the Matanzas, and with the others blocked up the mouth of the harbour, so that the Spaniards were cut off from all supplies by sea. On the

island of Anastatia batteries were soon erected, and several cannon mounted by the assistance of the active and enterprising sailors. Having made these dispositions, General Oglethorpe then summoned the Spanish governor to a surrender; but the haughty Don, secure in his strong hold, sent him for answer, that he would be glad to shake hands with him in his castle.

This insulting answer excited the highest degree of wrath and indignation in the general's mind, and made him resolve to exert himself to the utmost for humbling his pride. The opportunity of surprizing the place being now lost, he had no other secure method left but to attack it at the distance in which he then stood. For this purpose he opened his batteries against the castle, and at the same time threw a number of shells into the town. The fire was returned with equal spirit both from the Spanish fort and from six half gallies in the harbour, but so great was the distance, that though they continued the cannonade for several days, little execution was done on either side. Captain Warren, a brave naval officer, perceiving that all efforts in this way for demolishing the castle were vain and ineffectual, proposed to destroy the Spanish gallies in the harbour, by an attack in the night, and offered to go himself and head the attempt. A council of war was held to consider of and concert a plan for that service; but, upon sounding the bar, it was found it would admit no large ship to the attack, and with small ones it was judged rash and impracticable, the gallies being covered by the cannon of the castle, and therefore that design was dropped.

In the mean time the Spanish commander observing the besiegers embarrassed, their operations beginning to relax, sent out a detachment of three hundred men against Colonel Palmer, who surprised him at fort Moosa, and, while most of his party lay asleep, cut them almost entirely to pieces. A few that accidentally escaped, went over in a small boat to the Carolina regiment at Point Quartel. Some of the Chickesaw Indians coming from that fort having met with

a Spaniard, cut off his head, agreeable to their savage manner of waging war, and presented it to the general in his camp: but he rejected it with abhorrence, calling them barbarous dogs, and bidding them begone. At this disdainful behaviour, however, the Chickesaws were offended, declaring, that if they had carried the head of an Englishman to the French, they would not have treated them so: and perhaps the general discovered more humanity than good policy by it, for those Indians, who knew none of the European customs and refinements in war, soon after deserted him. About the same time the vessel stationed at the Matanzas being ordered off, some small ships from the Havanna with provisions, and a reinforcement of men, got into Augustine, by that narrow channel, to the relief of the garrison. A party of Creeks having surprised one of their small boats, brought four Spanish prisoners to the general, who informed him, that the garrison had received seven hundred men, and a large supply of provisions. Then all prospects of starving the enemy being lost, the army began to despair of forcing the place to surrender. The Carolinean troops, enfeebled by the heat, dispirited by sickness, and fatigued by fruitless efforts, marched away in large bodies. The navy being short of provisions, and the usual season of hurricanes approaching, the commander judged it imprudent to hazard his majesty's ships, by remaining longer on that coast. Last of all, the general himself, sick of a fever, and his regiment worn out with fatigue, and rendered unfit for action by a flux, with sorrow and regret followed, and reached Frederica about the 10th of July 1740.

Thus ended the unsuccessful expedition against Augustine, to the great disappointment of both Georgia and Carolina. Many heavy reflections were afterward thrown out against General Oglethorpe for his conduct during the whole enterprize. Perhaps the only chance of success he had from the beginning was by surprising this garrison in the night by some sudden attempt. He was blamed for remaining so long at fort Diego, by which means the

enemy had full intelligence of his approach, and time to prepare for receiving him. He was charged with timidity afterward, in making no bold attempt on the town. It was said, that the officer who means to act on the offensive, where difficulties must be surmounted, ought to display some courage; and that too much timidity in war is often as culpable as too much temerity. Great caution he indeed used for saving his men, for excepting those who fell by the sword in fort Moosa, he lost more men by sickness than by the hands of the enemy. Though the disaster of Colonel Palmer, in which many brave Highlanders were massacred, was perhaps occasioned chiefly by want of vigilance and a disobedience of orders, yet many were of opinion, that it was too hazardous to have left so small a party on the main land, exposed to sallies from a superior enemy, and entirely cut off from all possibility of support and assistance from the main body. In short, the Carolineans called in question the general's military judgment and skill in many respects; and protested that he had spent the time in barren deliberations, harassed the men with unnecessary marches, allowed them not a sufficient quantity of provisions, and poisoned them with brackish water. He, on the other hand, declared he had no confidence in the firmness and courage of the provincials; for that they refused obedience to his orders, and at last abandoned his camp, and retreated to Carolina. The truth was, so strongly fortified was the place, both by nature and art, that probably the attempt must have failed, though it had been conducted by the ablest officer, and executed by the best disciplined troops. The miscarriage, however, was particularly ruinous to Carolina, having not only subjected the province to a great expense, but also left it in a worse situation than it was before the attempt.*

* The Carolina Gazettes of this time, are filled with accounts of this expedition, and the causes of its failure is ably examined in a pamphlet, entitled Oglethorpe's expedition to St. Augustine, published in 1741, at London.

The same year stands distinguished in the annals of Carolina, not only for this unsuccessful expedition against the Spaniards, but also for a desolating fire, which in November following broke out in the capital, and laid the half of it in ruins. This fire began about two o'clock in the afternoon, and burnt with unquenchable violence until eight at night. The houses being built of wood, and the wind blowing hard at north-west, the flames spread with astonishing rapidity. From Broad-street, where the fire kindled, to Granville's Bastion, almost every house was at one time in flames, and exhibited an awful and striking scene. The vast quantities of deerskins, rum, pitch, tar, turpentine and powder, in the different stores, served to increase the horror, and the more speedily to spread the desolation. Amidst the cries and shrieks of women and children, and the bursting forth of flames in different quarters, occasioned by the violent wind, which carried the burning shingles to a great distance, the men were put into confusion, and so anxious were they about the safety of their families, that they could not be prevailed upon to unite their efforts for extinguishing the fire. The sailors from the men of war, and ships in the harbour were the most active and adventurous hands engaged in the service. But such was the violence of the flames, that it baffled all the art and power of man, and burnt until the calmness of the evening closed the dreadful scene. Three hundred of the best and most convenient buildings in the town were consumed, which, together with loss of goods, and provincial commodities, amounted to a prodigious sum. Happily few lives were lost, but the lamentations of ruined families were heard in every quarter. In short, from a flourishing condition the town was reduced in the space of six hours to the lowest and most deplorable state. All those inhabitants whose houses escaped the flames, went around and kindly invited their unfortunate neighbours to them, so that two and three families were lodged in places built only for the accommodation of one. After the legislature met, to take the miserable state of the

people under consideration, they agreed to make application to the British parliament for relief. The British parliament voted twenty thousand pounds sterling, to be distributed among the sufferers at Charlestown, which relief was equally seasonable and useful on the one side, as it was generous and noble on the other. No time should obliterate the impressions of such benevolent actions. This gift certainly deserved to be wrote on the table of every heart, in the most indelible characters. For all men must acknowledge, that it merited the warmest returns of gratitude, not only from the unfortunate objects of such bounty, but from the whole province.

While the war between Great Britain and Spain continued, a bill was brought into parliament to prevent the exportation of rice, among other articles of provision, to France or Spain, with a view to distress these enemies as much as possible. In consequence of which, a representation to the following effect, in behalf of the province of Carolina, and the merchants concerned in that trade, was presented to the house of commons while the bill was depending before them, praying that the article of rice might be excepted out of the bill and endeavouring to prove, that the prohibiting its importation would be highly detrimental to Great Britain, and in no respect so to her enemies: "The inhabitants of South Carolina have not any manufactures of their own, but are supplied from Great Britain with all their clothing, and the other manufactures by them consumed, to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling a-year. The only commodity of consequence produced in South Carolina is rice, and they reckon it as much their staple commodity as sugar is to Barbadoes and Jamaica, or tobacco to Virginia and Maryland; so that if any stop be put to the exportation of rice from South Carolina to Europe, it will not only render the planters there incapable of paying their debts, but also reduce the government of that province to such difficulties for want of money, as at this present precarious time may

render the whole colony an easy prey to their neighbours the Indians and Spaniards, and also to those yet more dangerous enemies their own negroes, who are ready to revolt on the first opportunity, and are eight times as many in number as there are white men able to bear arms, and the danger in this respect is greater since the unhappy expedition to Augustine.

"From the year 1729, when his majesty purchased South Carolina, the trade of it hath so increased, that their annual exports and imports of late have been double the value of what they were in the said year; and their exports of rice in particular have increased in a greater proportion: for, from the year 1720 to 1729, being ten years, both included, the whole export of rice was 264,488 barrels, making 44,081 tons. From the year 1730 to 1739, being also ten years, the whole export of rice was 499,525 barrels, making 99,905 tons; so that the export of the latter ten years exceeded the former by 235,037 barrels, or 55,824 tons; and of the vast quantities of rice thus exported, scarcely one fifteenth part is consumed either in Great Britain or in any part of the British dominions; so that the produce of the other fourteen parts is clear gain to the nation; whereas almost all the sugar, and one fourth part of the tobacco, exported from the British colonies, are consumed by the people of Great Britain, or by British subjects; from whence it is evident, that the national gain arising from rice is several times as great in proportion, as the national gain arising from either sugar or tobacco.

"This year, *viz.* 1740, in particular, we shall export from South Carolina above ninety thousand barrels of rice, of which quantity there will not be three thousand barrels used here, so that the clear national gain upon that export will be very great; for at the lowest computation, of twenty-five shillings sterling *per* barrel, the eighty-seven thousand barrels exported will amount in value to one hundred and eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, at the first hand; whereto there must be added the charge of

freight, &c. from South Carolina to Europe, which amount to more than the first cost of the rice, and are also gain to Great Britain; so that the least gain upon this article for the present year will be two hundred and twenty thousand pounds, over and above the naval advantage of annually employing more than one hundred and sixty ships of one hundred tons each.

"Rice being an enumerated commodity, it cannot be exported from South Carolina without giving bond for double the value that the same shall be landed in Great Britain, or in some of the British plantations, excepting to the southward of Cape Finisterre, which last was permitted by a law made in the year 1729: and the motive for such permission was, that the rice might arrive more seasonably and in better condition at market. We have hereunto added an account of the several quantities of rice which have been exported from South Carolina to the different European markets since the said law was made; and it will thereby appear, that we have not in those ten years been able to find sale for any considerable quantity of rice in Spain; for in all that time we have not sold above three thousand five hundred and seventy barrels to the Spaniards, making only three hundred and fifty-seven barrels annually upon a medium; nor can we in the time to come expect any alteration in favour of our rice trade there, because the Spaniards are supplied with an inferior sort of rice from Turkey, &c. equally agreeable to them and a great deal cheaper than ours; the truth whereof appears by the rice taken in a ship called the Baltic Merchant and carried into St. Sebastians, where it was sold at a price so much under the market rate here, or in Holland, as to encourage the sending of it thence to Holland and Hamburgh.

"In France the importation of Carolina rice without licence is prohibited; and though during the last and present years there hath, by permission, been some consumption of it there, yet the whole did not exceed nine thousand barrels, and they have received from Turkey so much rice of the

present year's growth, as to make that commodity five shillings *per* 100 *lb.* cheaper at Marseilles than here, and even at Dunkirk it is one shilling and sixpence *per* 100 *lb.* cheaper than here; so that there is not any prospect of a demand for Carolina rice in France, even if liberty could be obtained for sending the same to any port of that kingdom.

"Germany and Holland are the countries where we find the best market for our rice, and there the greater part of it is consumed; so that the present intended embargo, or prohibitory law, cannot have any other effect, in relation to rice, than that of preventing our allies from using what our enemies do not want, nor we ourselves consume more than a twentieth part of, and which is of so perishable a nature, that even in a cold climate it doth not keep above a year without decaying, and in a warm climate it perishes entirely. The great consumption of rice in Germany and Holland is during the winter season, when pease and all kinds of pulse, &c., are scarce; and the rice intended for those markets ought to be brought there before the frost begins, time enough to be carried up the rivers; so that preventing the exportation only a few days may be attended with this bad consequence, that by the frost the winter sale may be lost.

"And as we have now, viz. since November 11th, above ten thousand barrels of old rice arrived, so we may in a few weeks expect double that quantity, besides the new crop now shipping off from Carolina; the stopping of all which, in a country where there is not any sale for it, instead of permitting the same to be carried to the only places of consumption, must soon reduce the price thereof to so low a rate, that the merchants who have purchased that rice will not be able to sell it for the prime cost, much less will they be able to recover the money, they have paid for duty, freight, and other charges thereon, which amount to double the first cost: for the rice that a hundred pounds sterling will purchase in South Carolina, costs the

importer two hundred more in British duties, freight, and other charges.*

"Thus it appears, that by prohibiting the exportation of rice from this kingdom, the merchants who have purchased the vast quantities before mentioned will not only lose the money it cost them, but twice as much more in duties, freight, and other charges, by their having a perishable commodity embargoed in a country where it is not used. Or if, instead of laying the prohibition here, it be laid in South Carolina; that province, the planters there, and the merchants who deal with them, must all be involved in ruin; the province, for want of means to support the expense of government; the planters, for want of the means to pay their debts and provide future supplies; and the merchants, by not only losing those debts, but twice as much more in the freight, duties, and other charges, upon rice which they cannot sell. So that, in either case, a very profitable colony, and the merchants concerned in the trade of it, would be ruined for the present, if not totally lost to this kingdom, by prohibiting the exportation of rice; and all this without doing any national good in another way, for such prohibition could not in any shape distress our enemies. It is therefore humbly hoped, that rice will be excepted out of the bill now before the honourable house of commons."

As this representation contains a distinct account of the produce and trade of the province, and shows its usefulness

* An account of rice exported in ten years, after the province was purchased for the king.

	Barrels.
To Portugal,	83,379
To Gibraltar,	958
To Spain,	3,570
To France,	9,500
To Great Britain, Ireland, and the British plantations,	30,000
To Holland, Hamburgh and Bremen, including 7000 barrels to Sweden and Denmark,	372,118
Total quantity exported in those ten years,	499,525

and importance to Great Britain, we judged it worthy of the particular attention of our readers, and therefore have inserted it. With respect to the internal dangers arising from the savage nature and vast number of the slaves, mentioned in this and a former state of the province, we shall now make some remarks, in which we will be naturally led to consider their miserable condition, and the harsh treatment to which slavery necessarily subjects them.

That slavery has been practiced by many of the most civilized nations in the world, is indeed a truth evident from the history of them. In war the conquerors were supposed to have a right to the life of their captives, insomuch that they might kill, torture or enslave them, as they thought proper. Yet, though war may be justifiable on the principles of self-preservation and defence, it is no easy matter to vindicate the conqueror's right to murder or enslave a disarmed enemy. Slavery in general, like several other enormities, ought to be ascribed to the corruption and avarice of men, rather than to any principles of nature and humanity, which evidently testify against it; and that vindication which is drawn from the custom and practice of ancient nations in favour of such an institution, is equally applicable to many other enormities which are a shame and disgrace to human nature. Helpless children have been exposed to the fury of wild beasts; pride and ambition have spread their desolations far and wide; but such practices are not therefore humane and just. That many nations have encouraged slavery, and that the remains of it are still observable among the freest of them, are arguments which none will plead for their honour and credit. That species of servitude which still remains in Britain among the labourers in the coal mines, &c. is very different from that to which the natives of Africa are subjected in the western world; because such labourers voluntarily enter on such servitude, they acquire wages as their reward, and both their persons and properties are under the protection of the laws of the realm.

Upon the slightest reflection all men must confess, that

those Africans, whom the powers of Europe have conspired to enslave, are by nature equally free and independent, equally susceptible of pain and pleasure, equally averse from bondage and misery, as Europeans themselves. Like all rude nations, they have a strong attachment to their native country, and to those friends and relations with whom they spent the early years of life. By this trade being torn from those nearest connexions, and transported to a distant land, it is no easy thing to describe the uneasiness and pain they must endure from such violence and banishment. During the passage being loaded with irons, and cooped up in a ship, oppressed with the most gloomy apprehensions, many of them sicken and die through fear and regret. The provisions made for the voyage by the merchants and masters of ships, who consult their worldly interest more than the dictates of humanity, we may be sure are neither of the best kind, nor distributed among them in the most plentiful manner. After their arrival they are sold and delivered over to the colonists, to whose temper, language and manners they are utter strangers; where their situation for some time, in case of harsh usage, is little better than that of the dumb beasts, having no language but groans in which they can express their pains, nor any friend to pity or relieve them. Some destroy themselves through despair, and from a persuasion they fondly entertain, that, after death, they will return to their beloved friends and native country.

After the sale the purchasers become vested with the absolute property of them, according to the laws, usages, and customs of the trade, and whatever hardships are thereby imposed on those foreigners, the planters are so far excusable, having the sanction of the supreme legislature for the purchase they make. The laws of England, from necessity or expediency, have permitted such labourers to be imported among them; and therefore, on their part, the purchase, however injurious, cannot be illegal. Having acquired this kind of property, it then lies with the colonists to frame laws and regulations for the future management of their

slaves. In doing this, absolute obedience and non-resistance are fundamental principles established for the government of them, and enforced by the severest penalties. All laws framed with respect to them, give their masters such authority over them as is under few limitations. Their power of correction may be said to be only not allowed to extend to death. However severely beat and abused, no negro can bring an action against his owner, or appear as an evidence against white men, in any court of law or justice. Their natural rights as human creatures are entirely disregarded, and punishments are commonly inflicted according to the will of their master, however cruel and barbarous his disposition may be. A common place of correction is instituted, to which they are sent to receive such a number of stripes as their owners shall order, and such blunders have been committed in giving and executing those orders, that the innocent sometimes have suffered along with the guilty. In short, such is their miserable condition, that they are exposed defenceless to the insolence, caprice, and passions of owners, obliged to labour all their life without any prospect of reward, or any hope of an end of their toil until the day of their death. At the decease of their masters they descend, like other estates of inheritance, to the heir at law, and sometimes to thoughtless and giddy youth, habituated from their earliest days to treat them like brutes. At other times, no doubt, they are more fortunate, but their condition of life evidently subjects them to harsh usage even from the best of masters, and we leave the world to judge what they have to expect from the worst.

Indeed it must be acknowledged, in justice to the planters of Carolina in general, that they treat their slaves with as much, and perhaps more tenderness, than those of any British colony where slavery exists; yet a disinterested stranger must observe, even among the best of masters, several instances of cruelty and negligence in the manner of managing their slaves. Comparatively speaking, they are well clothed and fed in that province, which while they

continue in health, fits and qualifies them for their task. When they happen to fall sick, they are carefully attended by a physician; in which respect their condition is better than that of the poorest class of labourers in Europe. But in the West Indies, we have been told, they are both covered with rags and have a scanty portion of provisions allowed them, in which case urgent necessity and pinching hunger must often urge them to pilfer, and commit many injuries to which otherwise they would have no inclination, and for which they incur severe punishment. In cases of violence and murder committed on these wretched creatures, it is next to impossible to have the delinquents brought to punishment; for either the grand jury refuse to find the bill, or the petty jury bring in the verdict not guilty. When they are tempted to fly to the woods to shun severe labour or punishment, then they may be hunted down or shot as wild beasts. When whipped to death, the murderer, after all, is only subjected to an inconsiderable fine, or a short imprisonment, by the provincial laws. It is impossible that the Author of nature ever intended human beings for such a wretched state; for surely he who gave life, gave also an undoubted right to the means of self-preservation and happiness, and all the common rights and privileges of nature.

But there is another circumstance which renders their case still more wretched and deplorable. Good masters and mistresses, whose humanity and a sense of interest will not permit them to treat their negroes in a harsh manner, do not always reside at their plantations. Many planters have several settlements a considerable distance from the place where they usually live, which they visit perhaps only three or four times in a year. In their absence the charge of negroes is given to overseers, many of whom are ignorant and cruel, and all totally disinterested in the welfare of their charge. In such a case it can scarcely be expected that justice will be equally dispensed, or punishments properly inflicted. The negroes, however, lay entirely at the mercy of such men, and such monsters they sometimes are, as can

inflict misery in sport, and hear the groans extorted from nature with laughter and triumph. All slaves under their care must yield absolute obedience to their orders, however unreasonable and difficult, or suffer punishment for their disobedience. It would rouse the anguish and indignation of a humane person to stand by while a puny overseer chastises those slaves, and behold with what piercing stripes he furrows the back of an able negro, whose greatness of soul will not suffer him to complain, and whose strength could crush his tormentor to atoms. The unmerciful whip with which they are chastised is made of cow-skin, hardened, twisted, and tapering, which brings the blood with every blow, and leaves a scar on their naked back which they carry with them to their grave. At the arbitrary will of such managers, many of them with hearts of adamant, this unfortunate race are brought to the post of correction, often no doubt through malice and wantonness, often for the most trifling offences, and sometimes, O horrid! when entirely innocent. Can it be deemed wonderful, that such unhappy creatures should now and then be tempted to assert the rights of nature? Must not such harsh usage often fire them with desires of liberty and vengeance? What can be expected but that they should sometimes give those oppressors grounds of fear, who have subjected them to such intolerable hardships.

But from those labourers in the field the colonists have perhaps less danger to dread, than from the number of tradesmen and mechanics in towns, and domestic slaves. Many negroes discover great capacities, and an amazing aptness for learning trades, where dangerous tools are used, and many owners, from motives of profit and advantage, breed them to be coopers, carpenters, bricklayers, smiths, and other trades. Out of mere ostentation the colonists also keep a number of them about their families, who attend their tables, and hear their conversation, which very often turns upon their own various arts, plots, and assassinations. From such open and imprudent conversation those domestics

may no doubt take dangerous hints, which, on a fair opportunity, may be applied to their owners' hurt. They have also easy access to fire-arms, which gives them a double advantage for mischief. When they are of a passionate and revengeful disposition, such domestic slaves seldom want an opportunity of striking a sudden blow, and avenging themselves, in case of ill usage, by killing or poisoning their owners. Such crimes have often been committed in the colonies, and punished; and there is reason to believe they have also frequently happened, when they have passed undiscovered. Prudence and self-preservation strongly dictate to the Carolineans the necessity of guarding against those dangers which arise from domestic slaves, many of whom are idle, cunning, and deceitful.

In other respects the policy of the colonists, with respect to the management and treatment of slaves, is extremely defective. The hardships to which their bodies are exposed, would be much more tolerable and justifiable, were any provision made for civilizing and improving their minds. But how grievous their circumstances when we consider, that, together with their bodily toil and misery, they are also kept in heathen ignorance and darkness, destitute of the means of instruction, and excluded in a manner from the pale of the Christian church. Humanity places every rational creature upon a level, and gives all an equal title to those rights of nature, which are essential to life and happiness. Christianity breathes a spirit of benevolence, gentleness, and compassion for mankind in general, of what nation or complexion soever they be. As government has tolerated and established slavery in the plantations, the supreme charge of these creatures may be regarded rather as a national than a provincial concern. Being members of a great empire, living under its supreme care and jurisdiction, and contributing to the increase of trade and commerce, to the improvement and opulence of the British dominions, they are unquestionably entitled to a share of national benevolence and Christian charity. An institution for their religious instruction was an object of such

usefulness and importance, that it merited the attention of the supreme legislature; and the expense of a few superb and perhaps empty churches in England, would certainly have been better employed in erecting some neat buildings in the plantations for this beneficial purpose. To such an institution the merchants of Britain, especially those who owe a great part of their opulence to the labours of Africans, and whose plea for the trade was the bringing them within the pale of the Christian church, ought certainly to have contributed in the most liberal manner. The profits of the trade, abstracting from other considerations, could well admit of it; but every principle of compassion for the ignorant, the poor, and the unfortunate, powerfully dictates the same duty, the neglect of which, to every impartial judge, must appear in a very inexcusable and criminal light. Masters of slaves under the French and Spanish jurisdictions, are obliged by law to allow them time for instruction, and to bring them up in the knowledge and practice of the Catholic religion. Is it not a reproach to the subjects of Britain, who profess to be the freest and most civilized people upon earth, that no provision is made for this purpose, and that they suffer so many thousands of these creatures, residing in the British dominions, to live and die the slaves of ignorance and superstition? How can they expect the blessings of heaven on the riches flowing from their foreign plantations, when they are at no pains to introduce those objects of their care to the knowledge of the true God, and to make them partakers of the benefits and hopes of Christianity.

The advantages of religion, like the other gifts of heaven, ought to be free and common as the air we breathe to every human creature, capable of making a proper use and improvement of them. To the honour of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel it must indeed be acknowledged, that they have made some efforts for the conversion and instruction of those heathens. Not many years ago they had no less than twelve missionaries in Carolina, who

had instructions to give all the assistance in their power for this laudable purpose, and to each of whom they allowed fifty pounds a-year, over and above their provincial salaries. But it is well known, that the fruit of their labours has been very small and inconsiderable. Such feeble exertions were nowise equal to the extent of the work required, nor to the greatness of the end proposed. Whether their small success ought to be ascribed to the rude and untractable dispositions of the negroes, to the discouragements and obstructions thrown in the way by their owners, or to the negligence and indolence of the missionaries themselves, we cannot pretend to determine. Perhaps we may venture to assert, that it has been more or less owing to all these different causes. One thing is very certain, that the negroes of that country, a few only excepted, are to this day as great strangers to Christianity, and as much under the influence of Pagan darkness, idolatry, and superstition, as they were at their first arrival from Africa.

But, though neglected by the British nation, they are entitled to a share of the common privileges of humanity and Christianity, from their provincial owners. It is their duty and interest to use slaves with tenderness and compassion, and render them as happy and contented as their situation will admit. Were they to allow them certain portions of time from their labours of body for the improvement of their mind, and open the way for, and provide the means of instruction, would not kind usage be productive of many beneficial effects? The loss of labour none but the avaricious would grudge, and the day of rest allotted for man and beast since the beginning of the world, and properly improved for that purpose, might of itself be attended with good consequences; whereas, to encourage them to labour on that day for themselves, is not only robbing them of the opportunities of instruction, but abusing the Sunday, by making it to them the most laborious day of the week. It would strike a stranger with astonishment and indignation, to hear the

excuses planters make for this criminal neglect. Some will tell you they are beings of an inferior rank, and little exalted above brute creatures; that they have no souls, and therefore no concern need be taken about their salvation. Others affirm, that they would become more expert in vice by being taught, and greater knaves by being made Christians. But such advocates for heathen ignorance and barbarism merit no serious notice, being enemies to all improvements in human nature, and all the benefits resulting to society from civilization and Christianity. Certain it is, the inhabitants of Africa have the same faculties with those of Europe. Their minds are equally capable of cultivation, equally susceptible of the impressions of religion. Ridiculous is it to imagine, that the black tincture of their skins, or the barbarous state in which they were there found, can make any material alteration. Though fortune has put the former under the power of the latter, and assigned them the portion of perpetual labour to procure the mere luxuries of life for other men; yet, if such a traffic be reasonable and just, there is no crime negroes can commit that may not be defended and justified upon the same principles. If Europe, to obtain sugar, rum, rice, and tobacco, has a right to enslave Africa; surely Africa, if she had the power, has a much better right to rob Europe of those commodities, the fruits of her children's labour. Every argument that can be brought in support of the institution of slavery, tends to the subversion of justice and morality in the world. The best treatment possible from the colonists cannot compensate for so great a loss. Freedom, in its meanest circumstances, is infinitely preferable to slavery, though it were in golden fetters, and accompanied with the greatest splendour, ease, and abundance.

If then the greatest advantages are not a sufficient compensation for the loss of liberty, what shall we think of those who deny them the smallest? But one would imagine that, exclusive of every other motive, personal safety would

even induce the colonists to provide for them those advantages which would render them as easy and contented as possible with their condition. Were they duly impressed with a sense of their duty to God and man; were they taught the common rules of honesty, justice, and truth; were their dispositions to humility, submission, and obedience cultivated and improved; would not such advantages place them more on a level with hired servants, who pay a ready and cheerful obedience to their masters? Were they favoured with the privileges of Christianity, would they not be more faithful and diligent, and bettter reconciled to their servile condition? Besides, Christianity has a tendency to tame fierce and wild tempers. It is not an easy thing to display the great and extensive influence which the fear of God, and the expectation of a future account, would have upon their minds: Christianity enforces the obligations of morality, and produces a more regular and uniform obedience to its laws. A due sense of the divine presence, the hopes of his approbation, and the fears of his displeasure, are motives that operate powerfully with the human mind, and in fact would prove stronger barriers against trespasses, murders, plots, and conspiracies, than any number of stripes from the hands of men, or even the terrors of certain death. Whereas, to keep the minds of human creatures under clouds of darkness, neither disciplined by reason, nor regulated by religion, is a reproach to the name of Protestants, especially in a land of Christian light and liberty. Sundays and holydays are indeed allowed the negroes in Carolina, the former cannot consistent with the laws be denied them; the latter, as they are commonly spent, are nuisances to the province. Holydays there are days of idleness, riot, wantonness, and excess; in which the slaves assemble together in alarming crowds, for the purposes of dancing, feasting, and merriment. At such seasons the inhabitants have the greatest reason to dread mischief from them; when set loose from their usual employments, they

have fair opportunities of hatching plots and conspiracies, and of executing them with greater facility, from the intemperance of their owners and overseers.*

After all, it must be confessed, that the freemen of Carolina themselves were for many years in a destitute condition with respect to religious instruction; partly owing to their own poverty and the unhealthiness of the climate, and partly owing to troubles and divisions subsisting among them during the proprietary government. At that time the first object of their concern would no doubt be to provide for themselves and their children: but since the province has been taken under the royal care, their circumstances in every respect have changed for the better, insomuch that they are not only able to provide instruction for themselves and families, but also to extend the benefit to those living in a state of servitude among them. Now they are arrived to such an easy and flourishing situation, as renders their neglect entirely without excuse. The instruction of negroes would no doubt be a difficult, but by no means an impracticable undertaking, and the more difficult the end, the more praise and merit would be due to those who should effectually accomplish it. Even the Catholics of Spain pitied the miserable condition of negroes living among the Protestant colonies, and to induce them to revolt, proffered them the advantages of liberty and religion at Augustine. Is it not a shame to a Protestant nation to keep such a number of human creatures so long among them, beings of the same nature, subjects of the same government, who have souls to be saved, and capable of being eternally happy or miserable in a future world, not only in a miserable state of slavery, but also of pagan darkness and superstition.

* It may be well to observe, for the benefit of those unacquainted with our present system of slave laws, that Hewit wrote his reflections upon the system, when legislation had done comparatively nothing to ameliorate their condition. Any one who reads our slave code of the present day, will be constrained to admit, that our negroes enjoy, substantially, as many blessings, as any other low class upon the face of the globe.

What could be expected from creatures thus doomed to endless labour, and deprived of the natural rights of humanity and the privileges of Christianity, but that they should snatch at the least glimmering hopes and prospects of a better state, and give their task-master reason to dread, that they would lay hold of some opportunity of forcing their way to it. This inexcusable negligence with respect to them may be considered of itself as no small source of danger to the colonists, as the hazard is greater from savage and ferocious, than mild and civilized dispositions, and as the restraints of terror and temporal punishments are less constant and powerful than those of conscience and religion. The political and commercial connexion subsisting between the mother country and the colonies, makes the charge of negroes, in reason and justice, to fall equally upon both. And whatever other men may think, we are of opinion, that an institution for their instruction was an object of the highest consequence; and that, by all the laws of God and man, that nation which brought this unfortunate race into such a situation, was bound to consult both their temporal and eternal felicity.

About this time James Glen* received a commission from his majesty, investing him with the government of South Carolina, and at the same time was appointed colonel of a new regiment of foot to be raised in the province. He was a man of considerable knowledge, courteous, and polite; exceedingly fond of military parade and ostentation, which commonly have great force on ordinary minds, and by these means he maintained his dignity and importance in the eyes of the people. All governors invested with extensive powers ought to be well acquainted with the common and civil laws of their country; and every wise prince will guard against nominating weak or wicked persons to a high office, which affords them many oppor-

* This individual is the reputed author of the pamphlet at page 193, vol. 2, of these collections.

tunities of exercising their power to the prejudice of the people. When men are promoted to the government of provinces on account of their abilities and merit, and not through the interest of friends, then we may expect to see public affairs wisely managed, authority revered, and every man sitting secure under his vine, and enjoying the fruits of his industry with contentment and satisfaction. But when such offices are bestowed on ignorant or needy persons, because they happen to be favourites of some powerful and clamorous lord at court, without any view to the interest and happiness of the people, then avarice and oppression commonly prevail on one hand, and murmur and discontent on the other. The appointment of Governor Glen was so far proper, as he possessed those qualifications which rendered his government respectable, and the people living under it for several years happy and contented. His council, consisting of twelve men, were appointed also by the king, under his sign manual. The assembly of representatives consisted of forty-four members, and were elected every third year by the freeholders of sixteen parishes. The court of chancery was composed of the governor and council, to which court belonged a master of chancery and a register. There was a court of vice-admiralty, the judge, register, and marshal of which were appointed by the lords commissioners of the admiralty in England. The court of king's bench consisted of a chief justice appointed by the king, who sat with some assistant justices of the province; and the same judges constituted the court of common pleas. There were likewise the attorney-general, a clerk, and provost-marshal. The secretary of the province, who was also register, the surveyor-general of the lands, and the receiver-general of the quit-rents, were all appointed by the crown. The comptroller of the customs, and three collectors, at the ports of Charlestown, Port-Royal, and Georgetown, were appointed by the commissioners of the customs in England. The provincial treasurer was appointed by the general assembly. The clergy were elected

by the freeholders of the parish. All justices of the peace, and officers of the militia, were appointed by the governor in council. This is the nature of the provincial government and constitution, and in this way were the principal officers of each branch appointed or elected, under the royal establishment.

About the same time John Lord Carteret (now Earl of Granville) applied by petition to his majesty, praying that the eighth part of the lands and soil granted by King Charles, and reserved to him by the act of parliament establishing an agreement with the other seven lords proprietors for the surrender of their title and interest to his majesty, might be set apart and allotted to him and his heirs for ever, and proposing to appoint persons to divide the same; at the same time offering to resign to the king his share of, and interest in the government, and to convey, release and confirm to his majesty and his heirs, the other seven parts of the province. This petition being referred to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, they reported, that it would be for his majesty's service that Lord Carteret's property should be separated from that of his majesty, and that the method proposed by his lordship would be the most proper and effectual for the purpose. Accordingly five commissioners were appointed on the part of the king, and five on that of Lord Carteret, for separating his lordship's share, and making it one entire district by itself. The territory allotted him was divided on the north-east by the line which separated North Carolina from Virginia; on the east by the Atlantic ocean; on the south by a point on the sea-shore, in latitude thirty-five degrees and thirty-four minutes; and, agreeable to the charter, westward from these points on the sea-shore it extended, in a line parallel to the boundary line of Virginia, to the Pacific Ocean. Not long afterward, a grant of the eighth part of Carolina, together with all yearly rents and profits arising from it, passed the great seal, to John Lord Carteret and his heirs. But the power of making laws, calling and holding assemblies, erecting courts of justice, appointing

judges and justices, pardoning criminals, granting titles of honour, making ports and havens, taking customs or duties on goods, executing the martial law, exercising the royal rights of a county palatine, or any other prerogatives relating to the administration of government, were all excepted out of the grant. Lord Carteret was to hold this estate upon condition of yielding and paying to his majesty and his heirs and successors, the annual rent of one pound thirteen shillings and fourpence, on the feast of All Saints, for ever, and also one fourth part of all the gold and silver ore found within this eighth part of the territory so separated and granted him.

As Carolina abounds with navigable rivers, while it enjoys many advantages for commerce and trade, it is also much exposed to foreign invasions. The tide on that coast flows from six to ten feet perpendicular, and makes its way up into the flat country by a variety of channels. All vessels that draw not above seventeen feet water, may safely pass over the bar of Charlestown, which at spring-tides will admit ships that draw eighteen feet. This bar lies in thirty-two degrees and forty minutes north latitude, and seventy-eight degrees and forty-five minutes west longitude from London. Its situation is variable, owing to a sandy foundation and the rapid flux and reflux of the sea. The channel leading to Georgetown is twelve or thirteen feet deep, and likewise those of North and South Edisto rivers, and will admit all ships that draw not above ten or eleven feet of water. At Stono there is also a large creek, which admits vessels of the same draught of water; but Sewee and Santee rivers, and many others of less note, are for smaller craft, which draw seven, eight, or nine feet. The channel up to Port-Royal harbour is deep enough for the largest ships that sail on the sea; and the whole royal navy of England may ride with safety in it. Nature has evidently ordained this place for trade and commerce, by the many advantages with which she hath favoured it. It lies in thirty-two degrees and five minutes north latitude, and in longitude seventy-nine degrees five minutes. Its situation

renders it an excellent station for a squadron of ships in time of war, as the run from it is short to the windward islands, but especially as it lies so convenient for distressing the immense trade coming through the Gulf of Florida. From this harbour ships may run out to the gulf stream in one day, and return with equal ease the next, so that it would be very difficult to escape a sufficient number of cruisers stationed at Beaufort. The harbour is also defended by a small fort, built of tappy, which is a kind of cement composed of oyster-shells beat small, and mixed with lime and water, which when dry becomes hard and durable. The fort has two demi-bastions to the river, and one bastion to the land, with a gate and ditch, mounting sixteen heavy cannon, and containing barracks for a hundred men.

Several leagues to the southward of Port-Royal, Savanna river empties itself into the ocean, which is also navigable for ships that draw not above fourteen feet water. At the southern boundary of Georgia the great river Alatamaha falls into the Atlantic sea, about sixteen leagues north-east of Augustine, which lies in twenty-nine degrees fifty minutes. This river admits ships of large burden as far as Frederica, a small town built by General Oglethorpe, on an eminence in Simon's island. The island on the west end is washed by a branch of the river Alatamaha, before it empties itself into the sea at Jekyl sound. At Frederica the river forms a kind of bay. The fort General Oglethorpe erected here for the defence of Georgia had several eighteen pounders mounted on it, and commanded the river both upwards and downwards. It was built of tappy, with four bastions, surrounded by a quadrangular rampart, and a palisadoed ditch, which included also the king's stores, and two large buildings of brick and timber. The town was surrounded with a rampart, in the form of a pentagon, with flankers of the same thickness with that at the fort, and a dry ditch. On this rampart several pieces of ordnance were also mounted. In this situation General Oglethorpe had pitched his camp, which was divided into streets,

distinguished by the names of the several captains of his regiment. Their little huts were built of wood, and constructed for holding each four or five men. At some distance from Frederica was the colony of Highlanders, situated on the same river, a wild and intrepid race, living in a state of rural freedom and independence. Their settlement being near the frontiers, afforded them abundance of scope for the exercise of their warlike temper; and having received one severe blow from the garrison at Augustine, they seemed to long for an opportunity of revenging the massacre of their beloved friends.

The time was fast approaching for giving them what they desired. For although the territory granted by the second charter to the proprietors at Carolina extended far to the south-west of the river Alatamaha, the Spaniards had never relinquished their pretended claim to the province of Georgia. Their ambassador at the British court had even declared that his Catholic Majesty would as soon part with Madrid as his claim to that territory. The squadron commanded by Admiral Vernon had for some time occupied their attention in the West Indies so much, that they could spare none of their forces to maintain their supposed right. But no sooner had the greatest part of the British fleet left those seas, and returned to England, than they immediately turned their eyes to Georgia, and began to make preparations for dislodging the English settlers in that province. Finding that threats could not terrify General Oglethorpe to a compliance with their demands, an armament was prepared at the Havanna to go against him, and expel him by force of arms from their frontiers. With this view two thousand forces, commanded by Don Antonio de Rodondo, embarked at the Havanna, under the convoy of a strong squadron, and arrived at Augustine in May 1742.

But before this formidable fleet and armament had reached Augustine, they were observed by Captain Haymer, of the Flamborough man of war, who was cruising on that coast; and advice was immediately sent to General

Oglethorpe of their arrival in Florida. Georgia now began to tremble in her turn. The general sent intelligence to Governor Glen at Carolina, requesting him to collect all the forces he could with the greatest expedition, and send them to his assistance; and at the same time to despatch a sloop to the West Indies, to acquaint Admiral Vernon with the intended invasion.

Carolina by this time had found great advantage from the settlement of Georgia, which had proved an excellent barrier to that province, against the incursions of Spaniards and Spanish Indians. The southern parts being rendered secure by the regiment of General Oglethorpe in Georgia, the lands backward of Port-Royal had become much in demand, and risen four times their former value. But though the Carolineans were equally interested with their neighbours in the defence of Georgia, having little confidence in General Olgethorpe's military abilities, since his unsuccessful expedition against Augustine, the planters, struck with terror, especially those on the southern parts, deserted their habitations, and flocked to Charlestown with their families and effects. The inhabitants of Charlestown, many of whom were prejudiced against the man, declared against sending him any assistance, and determined rather to fortify their town, and stand upon their own grounds in a posture of defence. In this resolution, however, it is plain they acted from bad motives, in leaving that officer to stand alone against such a superior force. At such an emergency, good policy evidently required the firmest union, and the utmost exertion of the force of both colonies; for so soon as General Oglethorpe should be crushed, the reduction of Georgia would open to the common enemy an easy access into the bowels of Carolina, and render the force of both provinces, thus divided, unequal to the public defence.

In the mean time General Oglethorpe was making all possible preparations at Frederica for a vigorous stand. Message after message was sent to his Indian allies, who

were greatly attached to him, and crowded to his camp. A company of Highlanders joined him on the first notice, and seemed joyful at the opportunity of retorting Spanish vengeance on their own heads. With his regiment, and a few rangers, Highlanders, and Indians, the general fixed his head quarters at Frederica, never doubting of a reinforcement from Carolina, and expecting their arrival every day; but in the mean time determined, in case he should be attacked, to sell his life as dear as possible in defence of the province.

About the end of June, 1742, the Spanish fleet, amounting to thirty-two sail, and carrying above three thousand men, under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano, came to anchor off Simons' bar. Here they continued for some time sounding the channel, and after finding a depth of water sufficient to admit their ships, they came in with the tide of flood into Jekyl sound. General Oglethorpe, who was at Simons' fort, fired at them as they passed the sound, which the Spaniards returned from their ships, and proceeded up the river Alatamaha, out of the reach of his guns. There the enemy having hoisted a red flag at the mizen top-mast-head of the largest ship, landed their forces upon the island, and erected a battery, with twenty eighteen-pounders mounted on it. Among their land forces they had a fine company of artillery, under the command of Don Antonio de Rodondo, and a regiment of negroes. The negro commanders were clothed in lace, bore the same rank with white officers, and with equal freedom and familiarity walked and conversed with their commander and chief. Such an example might justly have alarmed Carolina. For should the enemy penetrate into that province, where there were such numbers of negroes, they would soon have acquired such a force, as must have rendered all opposition fruitless and ineffectual.

General Oglethorpe having found that he could not stop the progress of the enemy up the river, and judging his situation at fort Simons too dangerous, nailed up the guns, burst the bombs and coehorns, destroyed the stores, and retreated to his head quarters at Frederica. So great was

the force of the enemy, that he plainly perceived that nothing remained for him to achieve, with his handful of men, and therefore resolved to use his utmost vigilance, and to act only on the defensive. On all sides he sent out scouting parties to watch the motions of the Spaniards, while the main body were employed in working at the fortifications, making them as strong as circumstances would admit. Day and night he kept his Indian allies ranging through the woods, to harass the outposts of the enemy, who at length brought in five Spanish prisoners, who informed him of their number and force, and that the governor of Augustine was commander in chief of the expedition. The general, still expecting a reinforcement from Carolina, used all his address in planning measures for gaining time, and preventing the garrison from sinking into despair. For this purpose he sent out the Highland company also to assist the Indians, and obstruct as much as possible the approach of the enemy till he should obtain assistance and relief. His provisions for the garrison were neither good nor plentiful, and his great distance from all settlements, together with the enemy keeping the command of the river, cut off entirely all prospects of a supply. To prolong the defence, however, he concealed every discouraging circumstance from his little army, which, besides Indians, did not amount to more than seven hundred men ; and to animate them to perseverance, exposed himself to the same hardships and fatigues with the meanest soldier in his garrison.

While Oglethorpe remained in this situation, the enemy made several attempts to pierce through the woods, with a view to attack the fort ; but met with such opposition from deep morasses, and dark thickets, lined with fierce Indians, and wild Highlanders, that they honestly confessed that the devil himself could not pass through them to Frederica. Don Manuel de Monteano, however, had no other prospect left, and these difficulties must either be surmounted, or the design dropped ; and therefore one party after another was sent out to explore the thickets, and to take possession of every

advantageous post to be found in them. In two skirmishes with the Highlanders and Indians, the enemy had one captain and two lieutenants killed, with above one hundred men taken prisoners. After which the Spanish commander changed his plan of operations, and keeping his men under cover of his cannon, proceeded with some galleys up the river with the tide of flood, to reconnoitre the fort, and draw the general's attention to another quarter. To this place Oglethorpe sent a party of Indians, with orders to lie in ambuscade in the woods, and endeavour to prevent their landing. About the same time an English prisoner escaped from the Spanish camp, and brought advice to General Oglethorpe of a difference subsisting in it, insomuch that the forces from Cuba, and those from Augustine encamped in separate places. Upon which the general resolved to attempt a surprise on one of the Spanish camps, and taking the advantage of his knowledge of the woods, marched out in the night with three hundred chosen men, the Highland company, and some rangers. Having advanced within two miles of the enemy's camp, he halted, and went forward with a small party to take a view of the posture of the enemy. But while he wanted above all things to conceal his approach, a Frenchman fired his musket, ran off and alarmed the enemy. Upon which Oglethorpe finding his design defeated, retreated to Frederica, and being apprehensive that the deserter would discover his weakness, began to study by what device he might most effectually defeat the credit of his informations. For this purpose he wrote a letter, addressing it to the deserter, in which he desired him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica, and how easy and practicable it would be to cut him and his small garrison to pieces. He begged him, as his spy, to bring them forward to the attack, and assure them of success; but if he could not prevail with them to make that attempt, to use all his art and influence to persuade them to stay at least three days more at Fort Simons, for within that time, according to the advice he had just received from Carolina, he

would have a reinforcement of two thousand land forces, and six British ships of war, with which he doubted not he would be able to give a good account of the Spanish invaders. He entreated the deserter to urge them to stay, and above all things cautioned him against mentioning a single word of Vernon coming against Augustine, assuring him, that for such services he should be amply rewarded by his Britannic majesty. This letter he gave to one of the Spanish prisoners, who for the sake of liberty and a small reward, promised to deliver it to the French deserter; but, instead of that, as Oglethorpe expected, he delivered it to the commander and chief of the Spanish army.

Various were the speculations and conjectures which this letter occasioned in the Spanish camp, and the commander, among others, was not a little perplexed what to infer from it. In the first place he ordered the French deserter to be put in irons, to prevent his escape, and then called a council of war, to consider what was most proper to be done in consequence of intelligence, so puzzling and alarming. Some officers were of opinion, that the letter was intended to deceive, and to prevent them from attacking Frederica; others thought that the things mentioned in it appeared so feasible, that there were good grounds to believe the English general wished them to take place, and therefore gave their voice for consulting the safety of Augustine, and dropping a plan of conquest attended with so many difficulties, and which, in the issue might perhaps hazard the loss of both army and fleet, if not of the whole province of Florida. While the Spanish leaders were employed in these deliberations, and much embarrassed, fortunately three ships of force, which the governor of South Carolina had sent out, appeared at some distance on the coast. This corresponding with the letter, convinced the Spanish commander of its real intent, and struck such a panic into the army, that they immediately set fire to their fort, and in great hurry and confusion embarked, leaving behind them several cannon, and a quantity of provisions and military stores. The wind

being contrary, the English ships could not, during that day, beat up to the mouth of the river, and before next morning the invaders got past them, and escaped to Augustine.

In this manner was the province of Georgia delivered, when brought to the very brink of destruction by a formidable enemy. Fifteen days had Don Manuel de Monteano been on the small island on which Frederica was situated, without gaining the smallest advantage over a handful of men, and in different skirmishes lost some of his bravest troops. What number of men Oglethorpe lost we have not been able to learn, but it must have been very inconsiderable. In this resolute defence of the country he displayed both military skill and personal courage, and an equal degree of praise was due to him from the Carolineans as from the Georgians. It is not improbable that the Spaniards had Carolina chiefly in their eye, and had meditated an attack where rich plunder could have been obtained, and where, by an accession of slavery, they might have increased their force in proportion to their progress. Never did the Carolineans make so bad a figure in defence of their country. When union, activity and despatch were so requisite, they ingloriously stood at a distance, and suffering private pique to prevail over public spirit, seemed determined to risk the safety of their country, rather than General Oglethorpe, by their help, should gain the smallest degree of honour and reputation. Money, indeed, they voted for the service, and at length sent some ships, but, by coming so late, they proved useful rather from the fortunate cooperation of an accidental cause, than from the zeal and public spirit of the people. The Georgians with justice blamed their more powerful neighbours, who, by keeping at a distance in the day of danger, had almost hazarded the loss of both provinces. Had the enemy pursued their operations with vigour and courage, the province of Georgia must have fallen a prey to the invaders, and Carolina had every thing to dread in consequence of the conquest. Upon the return of the Spanish troops to the Havanna, tho com-

mander was imprisoned, and ordered to take his trial for his conduct during this expedition, the result of which proved so shameful and ignominious to the Spanish arms. Though the enemy threatened to renew the invasion, yet we do not find that after this repulse they made any attempts by force of arms to gain possession of Georgia.

The Carolineans having had little or no share of the glory gained by this brave defence, were also divided in their opinions with respect to the conduct of General Oglethorpe. While one party acknowledged his signal services, and poured out the highest encomiums on his wisdom and courage; another shamefully censured his conduct, and meanly detracted from his merit. None took any notice of his services, except the inhabitants in and about Port-Royal, who addressed him in the following manner: "We, the inhabitants of the southern parts of Carolina, beg leave to congratulate your excellency on your late wonderful success over your and our inveterate enemies the Spaniards, who so lately invaded Georgia, in such a numerous and formidable body, to the great terror of his majesty's subjects in these southern parts. It was very certain, had the Spaniards succeeded in those attempts against your excellency, they would also have entirely destroyed us, laid our province waste and desolate, and filled our habitations with blood and slaughter; so that his majesty must have lost the fine and spacious harbour of Port-Royal, where the largest ships of the British nation may remain in security on any occasion. We are very sensible of the great protection and safety we have long enjoyed, by your excellency being to the southwards of us, and keeping your armed sloops cruising on the coast, which has secured our trade and fortunes more than all the ships of war ever stationed at Charlestown; but more by your late resolution in frustrating the attempts of the Spaniards, when nothing could have saved us from utter ruin, next to the Providence of Almighty God, but your excellency's singular conduct, and the bravery of the troops under your

command. We think it our duty to pray to God to protect your excellency, and send you success in all your undertakings for his majesty's service; and we assure your excellency, that there is not a man of us but would most willingly have ventured his all, in support of your excellency and your gallant troops, had we been assisted, and put in a condition to have been of service to you; and that we always looked upon our interest to be so united to that of the colony of Georgia, that had your excellency been cut off, we must have fallen of course."

But while the inhabitants in and about Port-Royal were thus addressing General Oglethorpe, reports were circulating in Charlestown to his prejudice, insomuch that both his honour and honesty were called in question. Such malicious rumours had even reached London, and occasioned some of his bills to return to America protested. Lieutenant Colonel William Cook, who owed his preferment to the general's particular friendship and generosjty, and who, on pretence of sickness, had left Georgia before this invasion, had filed no less than nineteen articles of complaint against him, summoning several officers and soldiers from Georgia to prove the charge. As the general had, in fact, stretched his credit, exhausted his strength, and risked his life for the defence of Carolina in its frontier colony, such a recompense must have been equally provoking, as it was unmerited. We are apt to believe, that such injurious treatment could not have arisen from the wiser and better part of the inhabitants, and therefore must be solely ascribed to some envious and malicious spirits, who are to be found in all communities. Envy cannot bear the blaze of superior virtue, and malice rejoices in the stains which even falsehood throws on a distinguished character; and such is the extensive freedom of the British form of government, that every one, even the meanest, may step forth as an enemy to great abilities and an unblemished reputation. The charges of envy and malice, Oglethorpe might have treated with contempt; but to vindicate himself against the rude attacks

of an inferior officer, he thought himself at this time bound in honour to return to England.

Soon after his arrival a court martial of general officers was called, who sat two days at the Horse Guards, examining one by one the various articles of complaint lodged against him. After the most mature examination, the board adjudged the charge to be false, malicious, and groundless, and reported the same to his majesty. In consequence of which Lieutenant Colonel Cook was dismissed from the service, and declared incapable of serving his majesty in any military capacity whatever. By this means the character of General Oglethorpe was divested of those dark stains with which it had been overclouded, and began to appear to the world in its true and favourable light. Carolina owed this benefactor her friendship and love. Georgia was indebted to him for both her existence and protection. Indeed his generous services for both colonies deserved to be deeply imprinted on the memory of every inhabitant, and the benefits resulting from them to be remembered to the latest age with joy and gratitude.

After this period General Oglethorpe never returned to the province of Georgia, but upon all occasions discovered in England an uncommon zeal for its prosperity and improvement. From its first settlement the colony had hitherto been under a military government, executed by the general and such officers as he thought proper to nominate and appoint. But now the trustees thought proper to establish a kind of civil government, and committed the charge of it to a president and four assistants, who were to act agreeable to the instructions they should receive from them, and to be accountable to that corporation for their public conduct. William Stephens was made chief magistrate, and Thomas Jones, Henry Parker, John Fallowfield, and Samuel Mercer, were appointed assistants. They were instructed to hold four general courts at Savanna every year, for regulating public affairs, and determining all differences relating to private property. No public

money could be disposed of but by a warrant under the seal of the president and major part of the assistants in council assembled, who were enjoined to send monthly accounts to England of money expended, and of the particular services to which it was applied. All officers of militia were continued, for the purpose of holding musters, and keeping the men properly trained for military services; and Oglethorpe's regiment was left in the colony for its defence.

By this time the trustees had transported to Georgia, at different times, above one thousand five hundred men, women and children. As the colony was intended as a barrier to Carolina, by their charter the trustees were at first laid under several restraints with respect to the method of granting lands, as well as the settlers with respect to the terms of holding and disposing of them. Now it was found expedient to relieve both the former and latter from those foolish and impolitic restrictions. Under the care of General Oglethorpe the infant province had surmounted many difficulties, yet still it promised a poor recompense to Britain for the vast sums of money expended for its protection. The indigent emigrants, especially those from England, having little acquaintance with husbandry, and less inclination to labour, made bad settlers; and as greater privileges were allowed them on the Carolina side of the river, they were easily decoyed away to that colony. The Highlanders and Germans indeed, being more frugal and industrious, succeeded better, but hitherto had made very small progress, owing partly to wars with the Spaniards, and to severe hardships attending all kinds of culture in such an unhealthy climate and woody country. The staple commodities intended to be raised in Georgia were silk and wine, which were indeed very profitable articles; but so small was the improvement made in them, that they had hitherto turned out to little account. The most industrious and successful settlers could as yet scarcely provide for their families, and the unfortunate, the sick, and indolent part, remained in a starved and miserable condition.

Soon after the departure of General Oglethorpe, the Carolineans petitioned the king, praying that three independent companies, consisting each of a hundred men, might be raised in the colonies, paid by Great Britain, and stationed in Carolina, to be entirely under the command of the governor and council of that province. This petition was referred to the lords his majesty's privy council, and a time appointed for considering, whether the present state of Carolina was such as rendered this additional charge to the nation proper and necessary. Two reasons were assigned by the colonists for the necessity of this military force: the first was, to preserve peace and security at home; the second, to protect the colony against foreign invasions. They alleged, that as the country was overstocked with negroes, such a military force was requisite to overawe them, and prevent insurrections: and as the coast was so extensive, and the ports lay exposed to every French and Spanish plunderer that might at any time invade the province, their security against such attempts was of the highest consequence to the nation. But though they afterward obtained some independent companies, those reasons, at this time, did not appear to the privy-council of weight sufficient to induce them to give their advice for this military establishment. It was their opinion, that it belonged to the provincial legislature to make proper laws for limiting the importation of negroes, and regulating and restraining them when imported; rather than put the mother country to the expense of keeping a standing force in the province to overawe them; that Georgia, and the Indians on the Apalachian hills, were a barrier against foreign enemies on the western frontiers: that Fort Johnson, and the fortifications in Charlestown, were a sufficient protection for that port; besides, that as the entrance over the bar was so difficult to strangers, before a foreign enemy could land five hundred men in that town, half the militia in the province might be collected for its defence. Georgetown and Port-Royal indeed were exposed, but the inhabitants being both few in number and poor, it could not be worth the pains and

risk of a single privateer to look into those harbours. For which reasons it was judged, that Carolina could be in little danger till a foreign enemy had possession of Georgia ; and therefore it was agreed to maintain Oglethorpe's regiment in that settlement complete ; and give orders to the commandant to send detachments to the forts in James' Island, Port Royal, and such other places where their service might be thought useful and necessary to the provincial safety and defence.

Many are the advantages Carolina has derived from its political and commercial connexion with Britain. Its growing and flourishing state the colony owes almost entirely to the mother-country, without the protection and indulgence of which, the people had little or no encouragement to be industrious. Britain first furnished a number of bold and enterprising settlers, who carried with them the knowledge, arts, and improvements of a civilized nation. This may be said to be the chief favour for which Carolina stands indebted to the parent state during the proprietary government. But since the province has been taken under the royal care, it has been nursed and protected by a rich and powerful nation. Its government has been stable, private property secure, and the privileges and liberties of the people have been extensive. Lands the planters obtained from the king at a cheap rate. To cultivate them the mother country furnished them with labourers upon credit. Each person had entire liberty to manage his affairs for his own profit and advantage, and having no tythes, and very trifling taxes to pay, reaped almost the whole fruits of his industry. The best and most extensive market was allowed to the commodities he produced, and his staples increased in value in proportion to the quantity raised, and the demand for them in Europe. All British manufactures he obtained at an easy rate, and drawbacks were allowed on articles of foreign manufacture, that they might be brought the cheaper to the American market. In consequence of which frugal planters, every three or four years, doubled their capital, and their progress toward inde-

pendence and opulence was rapid. Indeed, the colonists had many reasons for gratitude, and none for fear, except what arose from their immoderate haste to be rich, and from purchasing such numbers of slaves, as exposed them to danger and destruction.

The plan of settling townships, especially as it came accompanied with the royal bounty, had proved beneficial in many respects. It encouraged multitudes of poor oppressed people in Ireland, Holland and Germany to emigrate, by which means the province received a number of frugal and industrious settlers. As many of them came from manufacturing towns in Europe, it might have been expected that they would naturally have pursued those occupations to which they had been bred, and in which their chief skill consisted. But this was by no means the case; for, excepting a few of them that took up their residence in Charlestown, they procured lands, applied to pasturage and agriculture, and by raising hemp, wheat and maize in the interior parts of the country, and curing hams, bacon, and beef, they supplied the market with abundance of provision, while at the same time they found that they had taken the shortest way of arriving at easy and independent circumstances.

Indeed while such vast territories in Carolina remained unoccupied, it was neither for the interest of the province, nor that of the mother country, to employ any hands in manufactures. So long as labour bestowed on lands was most profitable, no prudent colonist would direct his attention or strength to any other employment, especially as the mother country could supply him with all kinds of manufactures at a much cheaper rate than he could make them. The surplus part of British commodities and manufactures for which there was no vent in Britain, found in Carolina a good market, and in return brought the English merchant such articles as were in demand at home, by which means the advantages were mutual and reciprocal. The exclusive privilege of supplying this market encouraged labour in England, and augmented the annual income of the nation. From the

monopoly of this trade with America, which was always increasing, Britain derived many substantial advantages. These colonies consumed all her superfluities which lay upon hand, and enlarged her commerce, which, without such a market, must have been confined to its ancient narrow channel. In the year 1744, two hundred and thirty vessels were loaded at the port of Charlestown, so that the national value of the province was not only considerable in respect of the large quantity of goods it consumed, but also in respect to the naval strength it promoted. Fifteen hundred seamen at least found employment in the trade of this province, and, besides other advantages, the profits of freight must make a considerable addition to the account in favour of Britain.

Nor is there the smallest reason to expect that manufactures will be encouraged in Carolina, while landed property can be obtained on such easy terms. The cooper, the carpenter, the brick layer, the ship builder, and every other artificer and tradesman, after having laboured for a few years at their respective employments, and purchased a few negroes, commonly retreat to the country, and settle tracts of uncultivated land. While they labour at their trades, they find themselves dependent on their employers; this is one reason for their wishing at least to be their own masters; and though the wages allowed them are high, yet the means of subsistence in towns are also dear, and therefore they long to be in the same situation with their neighbours, who derive an easy subsistence from a plantation, which they cultivate at pleasure, and are answerable to no master for their conduct. Even the merchant becomes weary of attending the store, and risking his stock on the stormy seas, or in the hands of men where it is often exposed to equal hazards, and therefore collects it as soon as possible, and settles a plantation. Upon this plantation he sets himself down, and being both landlord and farmer, immediately finds himself an independent man. Having his capital in lands and negroes around him, and his affairs collected within a

narrow circle, he can manage and improve them as he thinks fit. He soon obtains plenty of the necessaries of life from his plantation; nor need he want any of its conveniences and luxuries. The greatest difficulties he has to surmount arise from the marshy soil, and unhealthy climate, which often cut men off in the midst of their days. Indeed in this respect Carolina is the reverse of most countries in Europe, where the rural life, when compared with that of the town, is commonly healthy and delightful.

CHAPTER IX.

THE war between England and France still raged in Europe, and being carried on under many disadvantages on the side of the allied army, was almost as unsuccessful as their enemies could have desired. The battle of Fontenoy was obstinate and bloody, and many thousands were left on the field on the side of the vanquished. The victorious army had little reason for boasting, having likewise bought their victory very dear. Though bad success attended the British arms on the continent at this time, yet that evil being considered as remote, the people seemed only to feel it as affecting the honor of the nation, which by some fortunate change might retrieve the glory of its arms; but a plot of a more interesting nature was discovered, which added greatly to the national perplexity and distress. A civil war broke out within the bowels of the kingdom, the object of which was nothing less than the recovery of the British crown from the house of Brunswick. Charles Edward Stuart, the young pretender, stimulated by the fire of youth, encouraged by the deceitful promises of France, and invited by a discontented party of the Scotch nation, had landed in North Britain to head the rash enterprise. Multitudes of bold and deluded Highlanders, and several Lowlanders, who owed their misfortunes to their firm adherence to that family, joined his army. He became formidable both by the numbers that followed him, and the success that at first attended his arms. But at length, after having struck a terror into the nation, he was routed at Culloden field, and his party were either dispersed, or made prisoners of war.

What to make of the prisoners of war became a matter of public deliberation. To punish all without distinction, would have been unjustifiable cruelty in any government, especially where so many were young, ignorant, and misled: to pardon all, on the other hand, would discover unreasonable weakness, and dangerous lenity. The prisoners had nothing to plead but the clemency of the king, and the tenderness of the British constitution. Examples of justice were necessary to deter men from the like attempts; but it was agreed to temper justice with mercy, in order to convince the nation of the gentleness of that constitution, which made not only a distinction between the innocent and guilty, but even among the guilty themselves, between those who were more, and those who were less criminal. The king ordered a general pardon to pass the great seal, in which he extended mercy to the ignorant, and misled among the rebels, which pardon comprehended nineteen out of twenty, who drew lots for this purpose, were exempted from trial, and transported to the British plantations. Among other settlements in America, the southern provinces had a share of these bold and hardy Caledonians, who afterward proved excellent and industrious settlers.

As every family of labourers is an acquisition to a growing colony, such as Carolina, where lands are plenty, and hands only wanted to improve them; to encourage emigration, a door was opened there to Protestants of every nation. The poor and distressed subjects of the British dominions, and those of Germany and Holland, were easily induced to leave oppression, and transport themselves and families to that province. Lands free of quit-rents, for the first ten years, were allotted to men, women, and children. Utensils for cultivation, and hogs and cows to begin their stock, they purchased with their bounty money. The like bounty was allowed to all servants after the expiration of the term of their servitude. From this period Carolina was found to be an excellent refuge to the poor, the unfortunate, and oppressed. The population and prosperity of her colonies engrossed the

attention of the mother country. His majesty's bounty served to alleviate the hardships inseparable from the first years of cultivation, and landed property animated the poor emigrants to industry and perseverance. The different townships yearly increased in numbers. Every one upon his arrival obtained his grant of land, and sat down on his freehold with no taxes, or very trifling ones, no tythes, no poor rates, with full liberty of hunting and fishing, and many other advantages and privileges he never knew in Europe. It is true the unhealthiness of the climate was a great bar to his progress, and proved fatal to many of these first settlers; but to such as surmounted this obstacle, every year brought new profits, and opened more advantageous prospects. All who escaped the dangers of the climate, if they could not be called rich during their own life, by improving their little freeholds, they commonly left their children in easy or opulent circumstances. Even in the first age being free, contented, and accountable to man for their labour and management, their condition in many respects was preferable to that of the poorest class of labourers in Europe. In all improved countries, where commerce and manufactures have been long established, and luxury prevails, the poorest ranks of citizens are always oppressed and miserable. Indeed this must necessarily be the case, otherwise trade and manufactures, which flourish principally by the low price of labour and provisions, must decay. In Carolina, though exposed to more troubles and hardships for a few years, such industrious people had better opportunities than in Europe for advancing to an easy and independent state. Hence it happened that few emigrants ever returned to their native country; on the contrary, the success and prosperity of the most fortunate, brought many adventurers and relations after them. Their love to their former friends, and their natural partiality for their countrymen, induced the old planters to receive the new settlers joyfully, and even to assist and relieve them. Having each his own property and possession, this independence produced mutual respect and beneficence,

and such general harmony and industry reigned among them, that those townships, formerly a desolate wilderness, now stocked with diligent labourers, promised soon to become fruitful fields.

It has been observed, that in proportion as the lands have been cleared and improved, and scope given for a more free circulation of air, the climate has likewise become more salubrious and pleasant. This change was more remarkable in the heart of the country than in the maritime parts, where the best plantations of rice are, and where water is carefully preserved to overflow the fields; yet even in those places cultivation has been attended with salutary effects. Time and experience had now taught the planters, that, during the autumnal months, their living among the low rice plantations subjected them to many disorders, from which the inhabitants of the capital were entirely exempted. This induced the richer part to retreat to town during this unhealthy season. Those who were less able to bear the expenses of this retreat, and had learned to guard against the inconveniences of the climate, sometimes escaped; but laborious strangers suffered much during these autumnal months. Accustomed as they were in Europe to toil through the heat of the day, and expose themselves in all weathers, they followed the same practices in Carolina, where the climate would by no means admit of such liberties. Apprehensive of no ill consequences from such exposure, they began their improvement with vigour and resolution, and persevered until the hot climate and heavy toil exhausted their spirits, and brought home to them the unwelcome intimations of danger.

In the months of July, August, and September, the heat in the shaded air, from noon to three o'clock, is often between ninety and a hundred degrees; and as such extreme heat is of short duration, being commonly productive of thunder-showers, it becomes on that account the more dangerous. I have seen the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer rise in the shade to ninety-six in the hottest,

and fall to sixteen in the coolest season of the year; others have observed it as high as a hundred, and as low as ten; which range between the extreme heat of summer and cold in winter is prodigious, and must have a great effect upon the constitution of all, even of those who are best guarded against the climate; what then must be the situation of such as are exposed to the open air and burning sky in all seasons? The mean diurnal heat of the different seasons has been, upon the most careful observation, fixed at sixty-four in spring, seventy-nine in summer, seventy-two in autumn, and fifty-two in winter; and the mean nocturnal heat in those seasons at fifty-six degrees in spring, seventy-five in summer, sixty-eight in autumn, and forty-six in winter.

As this climate differs so much from that of Britain, Ireland, and Germany, and every where has great influence on the human constitution, no wonder that many of these settlers should sicken and die by the change, during the first state of colonization. In the hot season the human body is relaxed by perpetual perspiration, and becomes feeble and sickly, especially during the dog-days, when the air is one while suffocating and sultry, and another moist and foggy. Exhausted of fluids, it is perhaps not at all, or very improperly, supplied. Hence intermittent, nervous, putrid and bilious fevers, are common in the country, and prove fatal to many of its inhabitants. Young children are very subject to the worm-fever, which cuts off multitudes of them. The dry belly-ache, which is a dreadful disorder, is no stranger to the climate. An irruption, commonly called the prickly heat, often breaks out during the summer, which is attended with troublesome itching and stinging pains; but this disease being common, and not dangerous, is little regarded; and if proper caution be used to prevent it from striking suddenly inward, is thought to be attended even with salutary effects. In the spring and winter pleurisies and peripneumonies are common, often obstinate, and frequently fatal diseases. So

changeable is the weather, that the spirits in the thermometer will often rise or fall twenty, twenty-five, and thirty degrees, in the space of twenty-four hours, which must make havock of the human constitution. In autumn there is sometimes a difference of twenty degrees between the heat of the day and that of the night, and in winter a greater difference between the heat of the morning and that of noon-day. We leave it to physicians more particularly to describe the various disorders incident to this climate, together with the causes of them; but if violent heat and continual perspiration in summer, noxious vapours and sudden changes in autumn, piercing cold nights, and hot noon-days in winter, affect the human constitution, the inhabitants of Carolina, especially in the maritime parts, have all these and many more changes and hardships during the year to undergo. Not only man, but every animal, is strongly affected by the sultry heat of summer. Horses and cows retire to the shade, and there, though harassed with insects, they stand and profusely sweat through the violence of the day. Hogs and dogs are also much distressed with it. Poultry and wild fowls droop their wings, hang out their tongues, and, with open throats, pant for breath. The planter who consults his health is not only cautious in his dress and diet, but rises early for the business of the field, and transacts it before ten o'clock, and then retreats to the house or shade during the melting heat of the day, until the coolness of the evening again invites him to the field. Such is his feebleness of body and languor of spirit at noon, that the greatest pleasure of life consists in being entirely at rest. Even during the night he is often restless and depressed, insomuch that refreshing sleep is kept a stranger to his eyes. If unfortunately the poor labourer is taken sick in such weather, perhaps far removed from, or unable to employ a physician, how great must be his hazard. In towns this heat is still rendered more intolerable by the glowing reflection from

houses, and the burning sand in the streets. But how it is possible for cooks, blacksmiths, and other tradesmen, to work at the side of a fire, as many in the province do during such a season, we must leave to the world to judge.

This hot weather, however, has been found favourable to the culture of indigo, which at this time was introduced into Carolina, and has since proved one of its chief articles of commerce. About the year 1745 a fortunate discovery was made, that this plant grew spontaneously in the province, and was found almost every where among the wild weeds of the forest. As the soil naturally yielded a weed which furnished the world with so useful and valuable a dye, it loudly called for cultivation and improvement. For this purpose some indigo seed was imported from the French West Indies, where it had been cultivated with great success, and yielded the planters immense profit. At first the seed was planted by way of experiment, and it was found to answer the most sanguine expectations. In consequence of which several planters turned their attention to the culture of indigo, and studied the art of extracting the dye from it. Every trial brought them fresh encouragement. In the year 1747 a considerable quantity of it was sent to England, which induced the merchants trading to Carolina to petition parliament for a bounty on Carolina indigo. The parliament, upon examination, found that it was one of the most beneficial articles of French commerce; that their West India islands supplied all the markets of Europe; and that Britain alone consumed annually six hundred thousand weight of French indigo, which, at five shillings a pound, cost the nation the prodigious sum of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. It was demonstrated by the merchants, that this vast expense might be saved, by encouraging the cultivation of indigo in Carolina, and commonly believed that in time the colony might bring it to such perfection, as to rival the French at the markets of Europe. This petition of the merchants was soon followed by another from the planters and inhabitants of

Carolina, and others to the same effect from the clothiers, dyers, and traders of different towns in Britain. It was proved, that the demand for indigo annually increased, and it could never be expected that the planters in the West Indies would turn their hands to it, while the culture of sugar canes proved more profitable. Accordingly, an act of parliament passed, about the beginning of the year 1748, for allowing a bounty of sixpence *per* pound on all indigo raised in the British American plantations, and imported directly into Britain from the place of its growth. In consequence of which act the planters applied themselves with double vigour and spirit to that article, and seemed to vie with each other who should bring the best kind and greatest quantity of it to the market. Some years indeed elapsed before they learned the nice art of making it as well as the French, whom long practice and experience had taught it to perfection; but every year they acquired greater skill and knowledge in preparing it, and received incredible profit as the reward of their labours. While many of them doubled their capital every three or four years by planting indigo, they in process of time brought it to such a degree of perfection, as not only to supply the mother-country, but also to undersell the French at several European markets.

Here it may not be improper to give the reader some account of the manner in which the people of Carolina cultivate this plant, and extract the dye from it. As we pretend to little knowledge of this matter ourselves, we shall give the following rules and directions of an ingenious person, who practised them for several years with great success. "As both the quantity and quality of indigo greatly depend on the cultivation of the plant, it is proper to observe, that it seems to thrive best in a rich, light soil, unmixed with clay or sand. The ground to be planted should be ploughed, or turned up with hoes, some time in December, that the frost may render it rich and mellow. It must also be well harrowed, and cleansed from all grass, roots, and stumps of trees, to facilitate the hoeing after the

weed appears above ground. The next thing to be considered is the choice of the seed, in which the planters should be very nice; there is great variety of it, and from every sort good indigo may be made; but none answers so well in this colony as the true Guatimala, which if good is a small oblong black seed, very bright and full, and when rubbed in the hand will appear as if finely polished.

"In Carolina we generally begin to plant about the beginning of April, in the following manner: The ground being well prepared, furrows are made with a drill-plough, or hoe, two inches deep, and eighteen inches distant from each other, to receive the seed, which is sown regularly, and not very thick, after which it is lightly covered with earth. A bushel of seed will sow four English acres. If the weather proves warm and serene, the plant will appear above ground in ten or fourteen days. After the plant appears, the ground, though not grassy, should be hoed to loosen the earth about it, which otherwise would much hinder its growth. In good seasons it grows very fast, and must all the while be kept perfectly clean of weeds. Whenever the plant is in full bloom it must be cut down, without paying any regard to its height, as its leaves are then thick and full of juice, and this commonly happens in about four months after planting. But, previous to the season for cutting, a complete set of vats of the following dimensions, for every twenty acres of weed, must be provided, and kept in good order. The steeper or vat in which the weed is first put to ferment, must be sixteen feet square in the clear, and two and a half feet deep; the second vat or battery twelve feet long, ten feet wide, and four and a half feet deep from the top of the plate. These vats should be made of the best cypress or yellow pine plank, two and a half inches thick, well fastened to the joints and studs with seven-inch spikes, and then caulked, to prevent their leaking. Vats thus made will last in Carolina, notwithstanding the excessive heat, at least seven years. When every thing is ready, the weed must be cut and laid regularly in the steeper with the stalk

upward, which will hasten the fermentation; then long rails must be laid the length of the vat, at eighteen inches distance from one another, and wedged down to the weed, to prevent its buoying up when the water is pumped into the steeper. For this purpose the softest water answers best, and the quantity of it necessary must be just sufficient to cover all the weed. In this situation it is left to ferment, which will begin sooner or later in proportion to the heat of the weather and the ripeness of the plant, but for the most part takes twelve or fifteen hours. After the water is loaded with the salts and substance of the weed, it must be let out of the steeper into the battery, there to be beat; in order to perform which operation, many different machines have been invented; but for this purpose any instrument that will agitate the water with great violence may be used. When the water has been violently agitated for fifteen or twenty minutes in the battery, by taking a little of the liquor up in a plate it will appear full of small grain or curdled; then you are to let in a quantity of lime-water kept in a vat for the purpose, to augment and precipitate the fæculæ, still continuing to stir and beat vehemently the indigo water, till it becomes of a strong purple colour, and the grain hardly perceptible. Then it must be left to settle, which it will do in eight or ten hours. After which the water must be gently drawn out of the battery through plug-holes contrived for that purpose, so that the fæculæ may remain at the bottom of the vat. It must then be taken up, and carefully strained through a horsehair sieve, to render the indigo perfectly clean, and put into bags made of Osnaburghs, eighteen inches long, and twelve wide, and suspended for six hours, to drain the water out of it. After which the mouths of these bags being well fastened, it must be put into a press to be entirely freed from any remains of water, which would otherwise greatly hurt the quality of the indigo. The press commonly used for this purpose is a box of five feet in length, two and a half wide, and two deep, with holes at one end to let out the water. In this box the bags must be laid, one

upon another, until it is full, upon which a plank must be laid, fitted to go within the box, and upon all a sufficient number of weights to squeeze out the water entirely by a constant and gradual pressure, so that the indigo may become a fine stiff paste ; which is then taken out and cut into small pieces, each about two inches square, and laid out to dry. A house made of logs must be prepared on purpose for drying it, and so constructed that it may receive all the advantages of an open and free air, without being exposed to the sun, which is very pernicious to the dye. For here indigo placed in the sun, in a few hours will be burnt up to a perfect cinder. While the indigo remains in the drying house, it must be carefully turned three or four times in a day, to prevent its rotting. Flies should likewise be carefully kept from it, which at this season of the year are hatched in millions, and infest an indigo plantation like a plague. After all, great care must also be taken, that the indigo be sufficiently dry before it is packed, lest after it is headed up in barrels it should sweat, which will certainly spoil and rot it."

In this manner indigo is cultivated and prepared in Carolina, and the richest land in the heart of the country is found to answer best for it. The maritime islands, however, which are commonly sandy, are not unfavourable for this production, especially those that contain spots of land covered with oak, and hickory trees. It is one of those rank weeds which in a few years will exhaust the strength and fertility of the best lands in the world. It is commonly cut in the West Indies six or seven times in the year, but in Carolina no more than two or three times before the frost begins. Our planters have been blamed by the English merchants for paying too much attention to the quantity, and too little to the quality of their indigo, hence the West India indigo brings a higher price at the market. He that prefers the quality to the quantity, is very careful to cut the plant at the proper season, that is, when the weed begins to bloom ; for the more luxuriant and tender the plant, the more beautiful the indigo. While it is curing, indigo has an

offensive and disagreeable smell, and as the dregs of the weed are full of salts, and make excellent manure, therefore they should be immediately buried under ground when brought out of the steeper. It is commonly observed, that all creatures about an indigo plantation are starved, whereas, about a rice one, which abounds with provisions for man and beast, they thrive and flourish. The season for making indigo in Carolina ends with the first frosty weather, which puts a stop to fermentation, and then double labour is not only requisite for beating it, but when prepared it is commonly good for nothing.

The planters bring their indigo to market about the end of the year, and frequently earlier. The merchant judges of its quality by breaking it, and observing the closeness of its grain, and its brilliant copper, or violet blue colour. The weight in some measure proves its quality, for heavy indigo of every colour is always bad. Good indigo almost entirely consumes away in the fire, the bad leaves a quantity of ashes. In water also pure and fine indigo entirely melts and dissolves, but the heterogeneous and solid parts of the bad sink to the bottom like sand. From this period it became a staple to Carolina, and proved equally profitable as the mines of Mexico or Peru. To the mother country it was no less beneficial, in excluding the French indigo entirely from her market, and promoting her manufactures and trade. I shall afterward take notice of the rapid progress made in the cultivation of this article, particularly with respect to the quantity produced and yearly shipped to Britain, to supply the markets in Europe.

The great bounty and indulgence of Britain towards her American colonies increased with their progress in cultivation, and favour after favour was extended to them. Filled with the prospect of opening an excellent market for her manufactures, and enlarging her commmerce and navigation, in which her strength in a great measure consisted, these colonies were become the chief objects of her care, and new ones were planted for the protection of the old. At

this time the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle left a number of brave sailors and soldiers without employment. Good policy required that they should be rendered useful to the nation, and at the same time furnished with employment for their own subsistence. Acadia, which was ceded to Britain by the treaty of peace, changed its name to Nova Scotia, and was capable of producing every species of naval stores. The sea there abounded with excellent fish, which might furnish employment for a number of sailors, and be made a useful and advantageous branch of trade. But the excellent natural harbours which the country afforded, of all other things proved the greatest inducement for establishing a colony in it, the possession of which would not only promote trade in the time of peace, but also prove a safe station for British fleets in time of war. Besides, for the sake of commercial advantage, it was judged proper to confine the settlements in America as much as possible to the sea-coast. The parliament therefore determined to send out a colony to Nova Scotia, and, to forward the settlement, voted forty thousand pounds. The following advantageous terms were held forth to the people by government, and a number of adventurers agreed to accept them. Fifty acres of land were to be allowed to every soldier and sailor, two hundred to every ensign, three hundred to every lieutenant, four hundred and sixty to every captain, and six hundred to all officers of higher rank; together with thirty for every servant they should carry along with them. No quit-rents were to be demanded for the first ten years. They were also to be furnished with instruments for fishing and agriculture, to have their passage free, and provisions found them for the first year after their arrival. Three thousand seven hundred and sixty adventurers embarked for America on these favourable terms, and settled at Halifax, which place was fixed on as the seat of government, and fortified. The Acadians, the former inhabitants of the country, were allowed peaceably to remain in it, and having sworn never to bear arms against their countrymen, submitted to the

English government, and passed under the denomination of French neutrals. The greatest difficulty which the new settlers of Nova Scotia had to surmount at this time arose from the Micmac Indians, who held that territory from nature, and for some time obstinately defended their right to their ancient possessions; and it was not without conderable loss that the British subjects at length, by force of arms, drove them away from those territories.

Nor did this new settlement engross the whole attention and liberality of the parent state; the province of Georgia also every year shared plentifully from the same hands. Indeed the bounty of the mother country was extensive as her dominions, and, like the sun, cherished and invigorated every object on which it shone. All the colonies might have been sensible of her constant attention to their safety and prosperity, and had great reason to acknowledge themselves under the strongest obligations to her goodness. If she expected a future recompense by the channel of commerce, which is for the most part mutually advantageous, it was no more than she had justly merited. The colonists, we allow, carried with them the rights and liberties of the subjects of Britain, and they owed in return the duties of obedience to her laws and subjection to her government. The privileges and duties of subjects in all states have been reciprocal, and as the mother country had incurred great expense for the establishment and support of these foreign settlements; as she had multiplied her burdens for their defence and improvement; surely such protection and kindness laid a foundation for the firmest union, and the most dutiful returns of allegiance and gratitude.

However, the province of Georgia, notwithstanding all that Britain had done for its population and improvement, still remained in a poor and languishing condition. Its settlers consisted of two sorts of people; first, of indigent subjects and foreigners, whom the trustees transported and maintained; secondly, of men of some substance,

whom flattering descriptions of the province had induced voluntarily to emigrate to it. After the peace Oglethorpe's regiment being disbanded, a number of soldiers accepted the encouragement offered them by government, and took up their residence in Georgia. All those adventurers who had brought some substance along with them, having by this time exhausted their small stock in fruitless experiments, were reduced to indigence, so that emigrants from Britain, foreigners, and soldiers, were all on a level point of poverty. From the impolitic restrictions of the trustees these settlers had no prospects during life but those of hardships and poverty, and of consequence, at their decease, of bequeathing a number of orphans to the care of Providence. Nor was the trade of the province in a better situation than its agriculture. The want of credit was an insurmountable obstacle to its progress in every respect. Formerly the inhabitants in and about Savanna had transmitted to the trustees a representation of their grievous circumstances, and obtained from them some partial relief. But now, chagrined with disappointments, and dispirited by the severities of the climate, they could view the design of the trustees in no other light than that of having decoyed them into misery. Even though they had been favoured with credit, and had proved successful, which was far from being their case; as the tenure of their freehold was restricted to heirs male, their eldest son could only reap the benefit of their toil, and the rest must depend on his bounty, or be left wholly to the charge of that Being who feeds the fowls of the air. They considered their younger children and daughters as equally entitled to paternal regard, and could not brook their holding lands under such a tenure, as excluded them from the rights and privileges of other colonists. They saw numbers daily leaving the province through mere necessity, and frankly told the trustees, that nothing could prevent it from being totally deserted, but the same encouragements with their more fortunate neighbours in Carolina.

That the trustees might have a just view of their condition, the Georgians stated before them their grievances, and renewed their application for redress. They judged that the British constitution, zealous for the rights and liberties of mankind, could not permit subjects who had voluntarily risked their lives, and spent their substance on the public faith, to effect a settlement in the most dangerous frontiers of the British empire, to be deprived of the common privileges of all colonists. They complained that the landholders in Georgia were prohibited from selling or leasing their possessions; that a tract containing fifty acres of the best lands was too small an allowance for the maintenance of a family, and much more so when they were refused the freedom to choose it; that a much higher quit-rent was exacted from them than was paid for the best lands in America; that the importation of negroes was prohibited, and white people were utterly unequal to the labours requisite; that the public money granted yearly by parliament, for the relief of settlers and the improvement of the province, was misapplied, and therefore the wise purposes for which it was granted were by no means answered. That these inconveniences and hardships kept them in a state of poverty and misery, and that the chief cause of all their calamities was the strict adherence of the trustees to their chimerical and impracticable scheme of settlement, by which the people were refused the obvious means of subsistence, and cut off from all prospects of success.

We have already observed, that the laws and regulations even of the wisest men, founded on principles of speculation, have often proved to be foreign and impracticable. The trustees had an example of this in the fundamental constitutions of John Locke. Instead of prescribing narrower limits to the industry and ambition of the Georgians, they ought to have learned wisdom from the case of the proprietors of Carolina, and enlarged their plan with respect to both liberty and property. By such indulgence alone they could encourage emigrations, and animate the inhabitants to

diligence and perseverance. The lands in Georgia, especially such as were first occupied, were sandy and barren; the hardships of clearing and cultivating them were great, the climate was unfavourable for labourers, and dangerous to European constitutions. The greater the difficulties were with which the settlers had to struggle, the more encouragement was requisite to surmount them. The plan of settlement ought to have arisen from the nature of the climate, country, and soil, and the circumstances of the settlers, and been the result of experience and not of speculation.

Hitherto Georgia had not only made small improvement in agriculture and trade, but her government was feeble and contemptible. At this time, by the avarice and ambition of a single family, the whole colony was brought to the very brink of destruction. As the concerns of these settlements are closely connected and interwoven with the affairs of Indian nations, it is impossible to attain proper views of the circumstances and situation of the people, without frequently taking notice of the relation in which they stood to their savage neighbours. A considerable branch of provincial commerce, as well as the safety of the colonists, depended on their friendship with Indians; and, to avoid all danger from their savage temper, no small share of prudence and courage was often requisite. This will appear more obvious from the following occurrence, which, because it is somewhat remarkable, we shall the more circumstantially relate.

I have already observed, that during the time General Oglethorpe had the direction of public affairs in Georgia, he had, from maxims of policy, treated an Indian woman, called Mary, with particular kindness and generosity. Finding that she had great influence among the Creeks, and understood their language, he made use of her as an interpreter, in order the more easily to form treaties of alliance with them, allowing her for her services a hundred pounds sterling a-year. This woman Thomas Bosomworth, who was chaplain to Oglethorpe's regiment, had married, and

among the rest had accepted a tract of land from the crown, and settled in the province. Finding that his wife laid claim to some islands on the sea-coast, which, by treaty, had been allotted the Indians as part of their hunting lands; to stock them he had purchased cattle from the planters of Carolina, from whom he obtained credit to a considerable amount. However, this plan not proving so successful as the proud and ambitious clergymen expected, he took to audacious methods of supporting his credit, and acquiring a fortune. His wife pretended to be descended in a maternal line from an Indian king who held from nature the territories of the Creeks, and Bosomworth now persuaded her to assert her right to them, as superior not only to that of the trustees, but also to that of the king. Accordingly Mary immediately assumed the title of an independent empress, disavowing all subjection or allegiance to the king of Great Britain, otherwise than by way of treaty and alliance, such as one independent sovereign might make with another. A meeting of all the Creeks was summoned, to whom Mary made a speech setting forth the justice of her claim, and the great injury done to her and them by taking possession of their ancient territories, and stirring them up to defend their property by force of arms. The Indians immediately took fire, and to a man declared they would stand by her to the last drop of their blood in defence of their lands. In consequence of which Mary, with a large body of savages at her back, set out for Savanna, to demand a formal surrender of them from the president of the province. A messenger was despatched beforehand, to acquaint him that Mary had assumed her right of sovereignty over the whole territories of the upper and lower Creeks, and to demand that all lands belonging to them be instantly relinquished; for as she was the hereditary and rightful queen of both nations, and could command every man of them to follow her, in case of refusal, she had determined to extirpate the settlement.

The president and council, alarmed at her high pretensions and bold threats, and sensible of her great power and

influence with the savages, were not a little embarrassed what steps to take for the public safety. They determined to use soft and healing measures until an opportunity might offer of privately laying hold of her, and shipping her off to England. But, in the mean time, orders were sent to all the captains of the militia, to hold themselves in readiness to march to Savanna at an hour's warning. The town was put in the best posture of defence, but the whole militia in it amounted to no more than one hundred and seventy men, able to bear arms. A messenger was sent to Mary at the head of the Creeks, while several miles distant from town, to know whether she was serious in such wild pretensions, and to try to persuade her to dismiss her followers, and drop her audacious design. But finding her inflexible and resolute, the president resolved to put on a bold countenance, and receive the savages with firmness and resolution. The militia was ordered under arms, to overawe them as much as possible, and as the Indians entered the town, Captain Jones, at the head of his company of horse, stopped them, and demanded whether they came with hostile or friendly intentions? But receiving no satisfactory answer, he told them they must there ground their arms, for he had orders not to suffer a man of them armed to set his foot within the town. The savages with great reluctance submitted, and accordingly Thomas Bosomworth, in his canonical robes, with his queen by his side, followed by the various chiefs according to their rank, marched into town, making a formidable appearance. All the inhabitants were struck with terror at the sight of the fierce and mighty host. When they advanced to the parade, they found the militia drawn up under arms to receive them, who saluted them with fifteen cannon, and conducted them to the president's house. There Thomas and Adam Bosomworth being ordered to withdraw, the Indian chiefs, in a friendly manner, were called upon to declare their intention of visiting the town in so large a body, without being sent for by any person in lawful authority. The warriors, as they had been pre-

viously instructed, answered, that Mary was to speak for them, and they would abide by her words. They had heard, they said, that she was to be sent like a captive over the great waters, and they were come to know on what account they were to lose their queen. They assured the president they intended no harm, and begged their arms might be restored; and, after consulting with Bosomworth and his wife, they would return and settle all public affairs. To please them their muskets were accordingly given back, but strict orders were issued to allow them no ammunition, until the council should see more clearly into their dark designs.

On the day following, the Indians having had some private conferences with their queen, began to be very surly, and to run in a mad and tumultuous manner up and down the streets, seemingly bent on some mischief. All the men being obliged to mount guard, the women were terrified to remain by themselves in their houses, expecting every moment to be murdered or scalped. During this confusion, a false rumour was spread, that they had cut off the president's head with a tomahawk, which so exasperated the inhabitants, that it was with difficulty the officers could prevent them from firing on the savages. To save a town from destruction, never was greater prudence requisite. Orders were given to the militia to lay hold of Bosomworth, and carry him out of the way into close confinement. Upon which Mary became outrageous and frantic, and insolently threatened vengeance against the magistrates and whole colony. She ordered every man of them to depart from her territories, and at their peril to refuse. She cursed General Oglethorpe and his fraudulent treaties, and furiously stamping with her feet upon the ground, swore by her Maker that the whole earth on which she trode was her own. To prevent bribery, which she knew to have great weight with her warriors, she kept the leading men constantly in her eye, and would not suffer them to speak a word respecting public affairs but in her presence.

The president finding that no peaceable agreement could be made with the Indians while under the baleful eye and influence of their pretended queen, privately laid hold of her, and put her under confinement with her husband. This step was necessary, before any terms of negotiation could be proposed. Having secured the chief promoters of the conspiracy, he then employed men acquainted with the Indian tongue to entertain the warriors in the most friendly and hospitable manner, and explain to them the wicked designs of Bosomworth and his wife. Accordingly a feast was prepared for all the chief leaders; at which they were informed, that Mr. Bosomworth had involved himself in debt, and wanted not only their lands, but also a large share of the royal bounty, to satisfy his creditors in Carolina: that the king's presents were only intended for Indians, on account of their useful services and firm attachment to him during the former wars: that the lands adjoining the town were reserved for them to encamp upon, when they should come to visit their beloved friends at Savanna, and the three maritime islands to hunt upon, when they should come to bathe in the salt waters: that neither Mary nor her husband had any right to those lands, which were the common property of the Creek nations: that the great king had ordered the president to defend their right to them, and expected that all his subjects, both white and red, would live together like brethren; in short, that he would suffer no man or woman to molest or injure them, and had ordered these words to be left on record, that their children might know them when they were dead and gone.

Such policy produced the desired effect, and many of the chieftains being convinced that Bosomworth had deceived them, declared they would trust him no more. Even Malatchee, the leader of the lower Creeks, and a relation to their pretended empress, seemed satisfied, and was not a little pleased to hear, that the great king had sent them some valuable presents. Being asked why he acknowledged Mary as the empress of the great nation of Creeks, and

resigned his power and possessions to a despicable old woman, while all Georgia owned him as chief of the nation, and the president and council were now to give him many rich clothes and medals for his services? He replied, that the whole nation acknowledged her as their queen, and none could distribute the royal presents but one of her family. The president by this answer perceiving more clearly the design of the family of Bosomworth, to lessen their influence, and show the Indians that he had power to divide the royal bounty among the chiefs, determined to do it immediately, and dismiss them, on account of the growing expenses to the colony, and the hardships the inhabitants underwent, in keeping guard night and day for the defence of the town.

In the mean time Malatchee, whom the Indians compared to the wind, because of his fickle and variable temper, having, at his own request, obtained access to Bosomworth and his wife, was again seduced and drawn over to support their chimerical claim. While the Indians were gathered together to receive their respective shares of the royal bounty, he stood up in the midst of them, and with a frowning countenance, and in violent agitation of spirit, delivered a speech fraught with the most dangerous insinuations. He protested that Mary possessed that country before General Oglethorpe; and that all the lands belonged to her as queen, and head of the Creeks; that it was by her permission Englishmen were at first allowed to set their foot on them; that they still held them of her as the original proprietor; that her words were the voice of the whole nation, consisting of above three thousand warriors, and at her command every one of them would take up the hatchet in defence of her right; and then pulling a paper out of his pocket, he delivered it to the president in confirmation of what he had said. This was evidently the production of Bosomworth, and served to discover in the plainest manner, his ambitious views and wicked intrigues. The preamble was filled with the names of Indians, called kings, of all the towns of the

Upper and Lower Creeks, none of whom, however, were present, excepting two. The substance of it corresponded with Malatchee's speech; styling Mary the rightful princess and chief of their nation, descended in a maternal line from the emperor, and invested with full power and authority from them to settle and finally determine all public affairs and causes, relating to lands and other things, with King George and his beloved men on both sides of the sea, and whatever should be said or done by her, they would abide by, as if said or done by themselves.

After reading this paper in council, the whole board were struck with astonishment; and Malatchee, perceiving their uneasiness, begged to have it again, declaring he did not know it to be a bad talk, and promising he would return it immediately to the person from whom he had received it. To remove all impression made on the minds of the Indians by Malatchee's speech, and convince them of the deceitful and dangerous tendency of this confederacy into which Bosomworth and his wife had betrayed them, had now become a matter of the highest consequence: happy was it for the province this was a thing neither difficult nor impracticable; for as ignorant savages are easily misled on the one hand, so, on the other, it was equally easy to convince them of their error. Accordingly, having gathered the Indians together for this purpose, the president addressed them to the following effect: "Friends and Brothers,—When Mr. Oglethorpe and his people first arrived in Georgia, they found Mary, then the wife of John Musgrove, living in a small hut at Yamacraw, having a license from the governor of South Carolina to trade with Indians. She then appeared to be in a poor ragged condition, and was neglected and despised by the Creeks. But Mr. Oglethorpe finding that she could speak both the English and Creek languages, employed her as an interpreter, richly clothed her, and made her the woman of the consequence she now appears. The people of Georgia always respected her until she married Thomas Bosomworth, but from that time she has proved a liar and a

deceiver. In fact, she was no relation of Malatchee, but the daughter of an Indian woman of no note, by a white man. General Oglethorpe did not treat with her for the lands of Georgia, she having none of her own, but with the old and wise leaders of the Creek nation, who voluntarily surrendered their territories to the king. The Indians at that time having much waste land, that was useless to themselves, parted with a share of it to their friends, and were glad that white people had settled among them to supply their wants. He told them that the present bad humour of the Creeks had been artfully infused into them by Mary, at the instigation of her husband, who owed four hundred pounds sterling in Carolina for cattle; that he demanded a third part of the royal bounty, in order to rob the naked Indians of their right; that he had quarrelled with the president and council of Georgia for refusing to answer his exorbitant demands, and therefore had filled the heads of Indians with wild fancies and groundless jealousies, in order to breed mischief, and induce them to break their alliances with their best friends, who alone were able to supply their wants, and defend them against all their enemies." Here the Indians desired him to stop, and put an end to the contest, declaring that their eyes were now opened, and they saw through his insidious design. But though he intended to break the chain of friendship, they were determined to hold it fast, and therefore begged that all might immediately smoke the pipe of peace. Accordingly pipes and rum were brought, and the whole congress joining hand in hand, drank and smoked together in friendship, every one wishing that their hearts might be united in like manner as their hands. Then all the royal presents, except ammunition, with which it was judged imprudent to trust them until they were at some distance from town, were brought and distributed among them. The most disaffected were purchased with the largest presents. Even Malatchee himself seemed fully contented with his share, and the savages in general perceiving the poverty and insignificancy of the family of Bosomworth, and

their total inability to supply their wants, determined to break off all connexion with them for ever.

While the president and council flattered themselves that all differences were amicably compromised, and were rejoicing in the re-establishment of their former friendly intercourse with the Creeks, Mary, drunk with liquor, and disappointed in her views, came rushing in among them like a fury, and told the president that these were her people, that he had no business with them, and he should soon be convinced of it to his cost. The president calmly advised her to keep to her lodgings, and forbear to poison the minds of Indians, otherwise he would order her again into close confinement. Upon which turning about to Malatchee in great rage, she told him what the president had said, who instantly started from his seat, laid hold of his arms, and then calling upon the rest to follow his example, dared any man to touch his queen. The whole house was filled in a moment with tumult and uproar. Every Indian having his tomahawk in his hand, the president and council expected nothing but instant death. During this confusion Captain Jones, who commanded the guard, very seasonably interposed, and ordered the Indians immediately to deliver up their arms. Such courage was not only necessary to overawe them, but at the same time great prudence was also requisite, to avoid coming to extremities with them. With reluctance the Indians submitted, and Mary was conveyed to a private room, where a guard was set over her, and all further intercourse with savages denied her during their stay in Savanna. Then her husband was sent for, in order to reason with him and convince him of the folly of his chimerical pretensions, and of the dangerous consequences that might result from persisting in them. But no sooner did he appear before the president and council, than he began to abuse them to their face. In spite of every argument used to persuade him to submission, he remained obstinate and contumacious, and protested he would stand forth in vindication of his wife's right to the last extremity, and that the

province of Georgia should soon feel the weight of her vengeance. Finding that fair means were fruitless and ineffectual, the council then determined to remove him also out of the way of the savages, and to humble him by force. After having secured the two leaders, it only then remained to persuade the Indians peaceably to leave the town, and return to their settlements. Captain Ellick, a young warrior, who had distinguished himself in discovering to his tribe the base intrigues of Bosomworth, being afraid to accompany Malatchee and his followers, thought fit to set out among the first: the rest followed him in different parties, and the inhabitants, wearied out with constant watching, and harassed with frequent alarms, were at length happily relieved.

By this time Adam Bosomworth, another brother of the family, who was agent for Indian affairs in Carolina, had arrived from that province, and being made acquainted with what had passed in Georgia, was filled with shame and indignation. He found his ambitious brother, not contented with the common allowance of land granted by the crown, aspiring after sovereignty, and attempting to obtain by force one of the largest landed estates in the world. His plot was artfully contrived, and had it been executed with equal courage, fatal must the consequence have been. Had he taken possession of the provincial magazine on his arrival at Savanna, and supplied the Creeks with ammunition, the militia must soon have been overpowered, and every family must of course have fallen a sacrifice to the indiscriminate vengeance of savages. Happily, by the interposition of his brother, all differences were peaceably compromised. Thomas Bosomworth at length having returned to sober reflection, began to repent of his folly, and to ask pardon of the magistrates and people. He wrote to the president, acquainting him that he was now deeply sensible of his duty as a subject, and of the respect he owed to civil authority, and could no longer justify the conduct of his wife; but hoped that her present remorse, and past services to the province, would entirely blot out the remembrance of her

unguarded expressions and rash design. He appealed to the letters of General Oglethorpe for her former irreproachable conduct, and steady friendship to the settlement, and hoped her good behaviour for the future would atone for her past offences, and reinstate her in the public favour. For his own part, he acknowledged her title to be groundless, and for ever relinquished all claim to the lands of the province. The colonists generously forgave and forgot all that had passed; and public tranquillity being re-established, new settlers applied for lands as usual, without meeting any more obstacles from the idle claims of Indian queens and chieftains.

The trustees of Georgia finding that the province languished under their care, and weary of the complaints of the people, in the year 1752 surrendered their charter to the king, and it was made a royal government. In consequence of which his majesty appointed John Reynolds, an officer of the navy, governor of the province, and a legislature similar to that of the other royal governments in America was established in it. Great had been the expense which the mother country had already incurred, besides private benefaction, for supporting this colony; and small had been the returns yet made by it. The vestiges of cultivation were scarcely perceptible in the forest, and in England all commerce with it was neglected and despised. At this time the whole annual exports of Georgia did not amount to ten thousand pounds sterling. Though the people were now favoured with the same liberties and privileges enjoyed by their neighbours under the royal care, yet several years more elapsed before the value of the lands in Georgia was known, and that spirit of industry broke out in it which afterward diffused its happy influence over the country.

In the annals of Georgia the famous George Whitfield may not be unworthy of some notice, especially as the world through which he wandered has heard so much of his orphan-house built in that province. Actuated by religious motives, this wanderer several times passed the Atlantic to convert the Americans, whom he addressed in

such a manner as if they had been all equal strangers to the privileges and benefits of religion with the original inhabitants of the forest. However, his zeal never led him beyond the maritime parts of America, through which he travelled, spreading what he called the true evangelical faith among the most populous towns and villages. One would have imagined that the heathens, or at least those who were most destitute of the means of instruction, would have been the primary and most proper objects of his zeal and compassion; but this was far from being the case. However, wherever he went in America, as in Britain, he had multitudes of followers. When he first visited Charlestown, Alexander Garden, a man of some sense and erudition, who was the Episcopal clergyman of that place, to put the people upon their guard, took occasion to point out to them the pernicious tendency of Whitfield's wild doctrines and irregular manner of life. He represented him as a religious impostor or quack, who had an excellent knack of setting off to advantage his poisonous tenets. On the other hand, Whitfield, who had been accustomed to bear reproach and face opposition, recriminated with double acrimony and greater success. While Alexander Garden, to keep his flock from straying after this strange pastor, expatiated on the words of Scripture, "Those that have turned the world upside down are come hither also;" Whitfield, with all the force of comic humour and wit for which he was so much distinguished, by way of reply, enlarged on these words, "Alexander the coppersmith hath done me much evil, the Lord reward him according to his works." In short, the pulpit was perverted by both into the mean purposes of spite and malevolence, and every one catching a share of the infection, spoke of the clergymen as they were differently affected.

In Georgia, Whitfield having obtained a tract of land from the trustees, erected a wooden house, two stories high, the dimensions of which were seventy feet by forty, upon a sandy beach nigh the sea-shore. This house, which he

called the Orphan-House, he began to build about the year 1740, and afterward finished it at a great expense. It was intended to be a lodging for poor children, where they were to be clothed and fed by charitable contributions, and trained up in the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion. The design, beyond doubt, was humane and laudable; but, perhaps, had he travelled over the whole earth, he could scarcely have found out a spot of ground upon it more improper for the purpose. The whole province of Georgia could not furnish him with a tract of land, of the same extent, more barren and unprofitable. To this house, poor children were to be sent from at least a healthy country, to be supported partly by charity, and partly by the produce of this land cultivated by negroes. Nor was the climate better suited to the purpose than the soil, for it is certain, before the unwholesome marshes around the house were fertilized, the influences of both air and water must have conspired to the children's destruction.

However, Whitfield having formed his chimerical project, determined to accomplish it, and, instead of being discouraged by obstacles and difficulties, gloried in despising them. He wandered through the British empire, persuaded the ignorant and credulous part of the world of the excellence of his design, and obtained from them money, clothes, and books, to forward his undertaking, and supply his poor orphans in Georgia. About thirty years after this wooden house was finished, it was burned to the ground: during which time, if I am well informed, few or none of the children educated in it have proved either useful members of society, or exemplary in respect to religion. Some say the fire was occasioned by a foul chimney, and others by a flash of lightning; but, whatever was the cause, it burnt with such violence that little of either the furniture or library escaped the flames. When I saw the ruins of this fabric, I could not help reflecting on that great abuse of the fruits of charity too prevalent in the world. That money which was sunk here, had been collected chiefly from the poorest

class of mankind. Most of those Bibles which were here burnt, had been extorted from indigent and credulous persons, who, perhaps, had not money to purchase more for themselves. Happy was it for the zealous founder of this institution, that he did not live to see the ruin of his works. After his death, he was brought from New-England, above eight hundred miles, and buried at this orphan-house. In his last will, he left Lady Huntingdon sole executrix, who has now converted the lands and negroes belonging to the poor benefactors of Great Britain and her dominions, to the support of clergymen of the same irregular stamp with the deceased, but void of his shining talents, and it is become a seminary of dissension and sedition.

As George Whitfield appeared in such different lights in the successive stages of life, it is no easy matter to delineate his character without an uncommon mixture, and vast variety of colours. He was in the British empire not unlike one of those strange and erratic meteors which appear now and then in the system of nature. In his youth, as he often confessed and lamented, he was gay, giddy, and profligate; so fondly attached to the stage, that he joined a company of strolling actors and vagabonds, and spent a part of his life in that capacity. At this period, it is probable he learned that grimace, buffoonery, and gesticulation, which he afterward displayed from the pulpit. From an abandoned and licentious course of life, he was converted; and, what is no uncommon thing, from one extreme he ran into the other, and became a most zealous and indefatigable teacher of religion. Having studied some time at Oxford, he received ordination in the church of England; yet he submitted to none of the regulations of that or any other church, but became a preacher in churches, meeting-houses, halls, fields, in all places, and to all denominations, without exception. Though little distinguished for genius or learning, yet he possessed a lively imagination, much humour, and had acquired considerable knowledge of human nature and the manners of the world. His pretensions to humanity and

benevolence were great, yet he would swell with venom, like a snake, against opposition and contradiction. His reading was inconsiderable, and mankind being the object of his study, he could, when he pleased, raise the passions, and touch the tone of the human heart to great perfection. By this affecting eloquence and address, he impressed on the minds of many, especially of the more soft and delicate sex, such a strong sense of sin and guilt, as often plunged them into dejection and despair. As his custom was to frequent those larger cities and towns, that are commonly best supplied with the means of instruction, it would appear that the love of fame and popular applause was his leading passion; yet, in candour it must be acknowledged, that he always discovered a warm zeal for the honour of God and the happiness of men. While he was almost worshipped by the vulgar, men of superior rank and erudition found him the polite gentleman, and the facetious and jocular companion. Though he loved good cheer, and frequented the houses of the rich, or more hospitable people of America, yet he was an enemy to all manner of excess and intemperance. While his vagrant temper led him from place to place, his natural discernment enabled him to form no bad judgment of the characters and manners of men wherever he went. Though he appeared a friend to no established church, yet good policy winked at all his irregularities, as he every where proved a steady friend to monarchy and the civil constitution. He knew well how to keep up the curiosity of the multitude, and his roving manner stamped a kind of novelty on his instructions. When exposed to the taunts of the scoffer, and the ridicule of the flagitious, he remained firm to his purpose, and could even retort these weapons with astonishing ease and dexterity, and render vice abashed under the lash of his satire and wit. Sometimes, indeed, he made little scruple of consigning over to damnation such as differed from him, or despised him; yet he was not entirely devoid of liberality of sentiment. To habitual sinners, his address was, for the most part, applicable and powerful, and with

equal ease could alarm the secure, and confirm the unsteady. Though, in prayer, he commonly addressed the second person of the Trinity in a familiar and fulsome style, and, in his sermons, used many ridiculous forms of speech, and told many of his own wonderful works, yet these seemed only shades to set off to greater advantage the lustre of his good qualities. In short, though it is acknowledged he had many oddities and failings, and was too much the slave of party and vain-glory, yet in justice it cannot be denied, that religion in America owed not a little to the zeal, diligence, and oratory of this extraordinary man.

Having said so much with respect to the character which Mr. Whitfield bore in America, if we view the effects of his example and manner of life in that country, he will appear to us in a less favourable light. His great ambition was to be the founder of a new sect, regulated entirely by popular fancy and caprice, depending on the gifts of nature, regardless of the improvements of education and all ecclesiastical laws and institutions. Accordingly, after him a servile race of ignorant and despicable imitators sprung up, and wandered from place to place, spreading doctrines subversive of all public order and peace. We acknowledge the propriety and justice of allowing every reasonable indulgence to men in matters of religion. The laws of toleration being part of our happy constitution, it lies with men to learn their duty from them, and claim protection under them. But, after a church has been erected and established by the most skilful architects, and for ages received the approbation of the wisest and best men, it serves only to create endless confusion to be making alterations and additions to gratify the fancy of every Gothic pretender to that art. Though Whitfield was, in fact, a friend to civil government, yet his followers on that continent have been distinguished for the contrary character, and have, for the most part, discovered an aversion to our constitution both of church and state. Toleration to men who remain peaceable subjects to the state is reasonable; but dissension, when it grows lawless

and headstrong, is dangerous, and summons men in general to take shelter under the constitution, that the salutary laws of our country may be executed by its united strength. No man ought to claim any lordship over the conscience; but when the consciences of obstinate sectaries become civil nuisances, and destructive of public tranquillity, they ought to be restrained by legal authority. For certainly human laws, if they have not the primary, have, or ought to have, a secondary power to restrain the irregular and wild excesses of men in religious as well as in civil matters.

About the year 1752 the flames of war broke out among some Indian nations, which threatened to involve the province of Carolina in the calamity. The Creeks having quarrelled with their neighbours for permitting some Indians to pass through their country to wage war against them, by way of revenge had killed some Cherokees nigh the gates of Charlestown. A British trader to the Chickesaw nation had likewise been scalped by a party of warriors belonging to the same nation. Governor Glen, in order to demand satisfaction for these outrages, sent a messenger to the Creeks, requesting a conference at Charlestown with their leading men. The Creeks returned for answer, that they were willing to meet him, but as the path had not been open and safe for some time, they could not enter the settlement without a guard to escort them. Upon which the governor sent fifty horsemen, who met them at the confines of their territories, and convoyed Malatchee, with above a hundred of his warriors, to Charlestown.

As they arrived on Sunday the governor did not summon his council until the day following, to hold a congress with them. At this meeting a number of gentlemen were present, whom curiosity had drawn together to see the warriors and hear their speeches. When they entered the council-chamber the governor arose and took them by the hand, signifying that he was glad to see them, and then addressed them to the following effect: "Being tied together by the most solemn treaties, I call you by the beloved names of

friends and brothers. In the name of the great King George I have sent for you, on business of the greatest consequence to your nation. I would have received you yesterday on your arrival, but it was a beloved day, dedicated to repose and the concerns of a future life. I am sorry to hear that you have taken up the hatchet, which I flattered myself had been for ever buried. It is my desire to have the chain brightened and renewed, not only between you and the English, but also between you and other Indian nations. You are all our friends, and I could wish that all Indians in friendship with us were also friends one with another. You have complained to me of the Cherokees permitting the northern Indians to come through their country to war against you, and supplying them with provisions and ammunition for that purpose. The Cherokees, on the other hand, allege, that it is not in their power to prevent them, and declare, that while their people happen to be out hunting, those northern Indians come into their towns well armed, and in such numbers that they are not able to resist them.

"I propose that a treaty of friendship and peace be concluded, first with the English and then with the Cherokees, in such a manner as may render it durable. Some of your people have from smaller crimes proceeded to greater. First, they waylaid the Cherokees, and killed one of them in the midst of our settlements; then they came to Charlestown, where some Cherokees at the same time happened to be, and though I cautioned them, and they promised to do no mischief, yet the next day they assaulted and murdered several of them nigh the gates of this town. For these outrages I have sent for you, to demand satisfaction; and also for the murder committed in one of your towns, for which satisfaction was made by the death of another person, and not of the murderer. For the future, I acquaint you, that nothing will be deemed as satisfaction for the lives of our people, but the lives of those persons themselves who shall be guilty of the murder. The English never make treaties of friendship but with the greatest deliberation, and

when made observe them with the strictest punctuality. They are, at the same time, vigilant, and will not suffer other nations to infringe the smallest article of such treaties. It would tend to the happiness of your people, were you equally careful to watch against the beginnings of evil; for sometimes a small spark, if not attended to, may kindle a great fire; and a slight sore, if suffered to spread, may endanger the whole body. Therefore, I have sent for you to prevent farther mischief, and I hope you come disposed to give satisfaction for the outrages already committed, and to promise and agree to maintain peace and friendship with your neighbours for the future."

This speech delivered to the Indians was interpreted by Lachlan M'Gilvray, an Indian trader, who understood their language. After which Malatchee, the king of the Lower Creek nation, stood forth, and with a solemnity and dignity of manner that astonished all present, in answer, addressed the governor to the following effect: "I never had the honour to see the great King George, nor to hear his talk—But you are in his place —— I have heard yours, and I like it well—Your sentiments are agreeable to my own—The great king wisely judged, that the best way of maintaining friendship between white and red people was by trade and commerce:—He knew we are poor, and want many things, and that skins are all we have to give in exchange for what we want—I have ordered my people to bring you some as a present, and, in the name of our nation, I lay them at your excellency's feet;—You have sent for us—we are come to hear what you have to say—But I did not expect to hear our whole nation accused for the faults of a few private men—Our head men neither knew nor approved of the mischief done—We imagined our young men had gone a hunting as usual—When we heard what had happened at Charlestown, I knew you would send and demand satisfaction—When your agent came and told me what satisfaction you required, I owned the justice of it—But it was not advisable for me alone to grant it—It was prudent to

consult with our beloved men, and have their advice in a matter of such importance—We met—We found that the behaviour of some of our people had been bad—We found that blood had been spilt at your gates—We thought it just that satisfaction should be made—We turned our thoughts to find out the chief persons concerned; (for a man will sometimes employ another to commit a crime he does not choose to be guilty of himself)--We found the Acorn Whistler was the chief contriver and promoter of the mischief—We agreed that he was the man that ought to suffer—Some of his relations, who are here present, then said he deserved death, and voted for it—Accordingly he was put to death—He was a very great warrior, and had many friends and relations in different parts of the country—We thought it prudent to conceal for some time the true reason of his death, which was known only to the head men that concerted it—We did this for fear some of his friends in the heat of fury would take revenge on some of your traders—At a general meeting all matters were explained—The reasons of his death were made known—His relations approved of all that was done. —Satisfaction being made, I say no more about that matter —I hope our friendship with the English will continue as heretofore.

"As to the injuries done to the Cherokees, which you spoke of, we are sorry for them—We acknowledge our young men do many things they ought not to do, and very often act like madmen—But it is well known I and the other head warriors did all we could to oblige them to make restitution—I rode from town to town with Mr. Bosomworth and his wife to assist them in this matter—Most of the things taken have been restored—When this was over, another accident happened which created fresh troubles—A Chickesaw who lived in our nation, in a drunken fit shot a white man—I knew you would demand satisfaction—I thought it best to give it before it was asked—The murder was committed at a great distance from me—I mounted my horse and rode through the towns with your agent—I took

the head men of every town along with me—We went to the place and demanded satisfaction—It was given—The blood of the Indian was spilt for the blood of a white man—The uncle of the murderer purchased his life, and voluntarily killed himself in his stead—Now I have done—I am glad to see you face to face to settle those matters—It is good to renew treaties of friendship—I shall always be glad to call you friends and brothers."

This speech throws no small light on the judicial proceedings of barbarous nations, and shows that human nature in its rudest state possesses a strong sense of right and wrong. Although Indians have little property, yet here we behold their chief magistrate protecting what they have, and, in cases of robbery, acknowledging the necessity of making restitution. They indeed chiefly injure one another in their persons or reputations, and in all cases of murder the guilty are brought to trial and condemned to death by the general consent of the nation. Even the friends and relations of the murderer here voted for his death. But, what is more remarkable, they give us an instance of an atonement made, and justice satisfied, by the substitution of an innocent man in place of the guilty. An uncle voluntarily and generously offers to die in the place of his nephew, the savages accept of the offer, and in consequence of his death declare that satisfaction is made. Next to personal defence, the Indian guards his character and reputation; for as it is only from the general opinion his nation entertains of his wisdom, justice and valour, that he can expect to arrive at rank and distinction, he is exceedingly watchful against doing any thing for which he may incur public blame or disgrace. In this answer to Governor Glen, Malatchee discovers considerable talents as a public speaker, and appears to be insensible neither to his own dignity and freedom, nor to the honour and independence of his nation. Genius and liberty are the gifts of heaven; the former is universal as that space over which it has scope to range, the latter in-

spires confidence and gives a natural confidence to our words and actions.

During the months of June, July, and August, 1752, the weather in Carolina was warmer than any of the inhabitants then alive had ever felt it, and the mercury in the shade often rose above the ninetieth, and at one time was observed at the hundred and first degree of the thermometer; and, at the same time, when exposed to the sun, and suspended at the distance of five feet from the ground, it arose above the hundred and twentieth division. By this excessive heat the air becomes greatly rarefied, and a violent hurricane commonly comes and restores the balance in the atmosphere. In such a case the wind usually proceeds from the north-east, directly opposite to the point from which it had long blown before. Those storms indeed seldom happen except in seasons when there has been little thunder, when the weather has been long exceeding dry and intolerably hot, and though they occasion damages to some individuals, there is reason to believe that they are wisely ordered, and productive upon the whole of good and salutary effects. Among the close and dark recesses of the woods the air stagnates, and requires some violent storm to clear it of putrid effluvia, and render it fit for respiration. At the same time the earth emits vapours which in a few days cause the finest polished metals to rust. To penetrate through the thick forest, and restore the air to a salubrious state, hurricanes may be useful and necessary. And as such storms have been observed to be productive of good effects, the want of them for many years together may be deemed a great misfortune by the inhabitants, especially such as are exposed to the noon-day heat, to the heavy fogs that fall every morning and evening, and all the severities of the climate.

It is not improbable that the maritime parts of Carolina have been forsaken by the sea. Though you dig ever so deep in those places you find no stones or rocks, but every where sand or beds of shells. As a small decrease of water

will leave so flat a country entirely bare, so a small increase will again cover it. The coast is not only very level, but the dangerous hurricanes commonly proceed from the north-east; and as the stream of the Gulf of Florida flows rapidly towards the same point, this large body of water, when obstructed by the tempest, recurs upon the shore, and overflows the country.

In the month of September, 1752, a dreadful hurricane happened at Charlestown. In the night before, it was observed by the inhabitants that the wind at north-east began to blow hard, and continued increasing in violence till next morning. Then the sky appeared wild and cloudy, and it began to drizzle and rain. About nine o'clock the flood came rolling in with great impetuosity, and in a little time rose ten feet above high water mark at the highest tides. As usual in such cases, the town was overflowed, and the streets were covered with boats, boards, and wrecks of houses and ships. Before eleven all the ships in the harbour were driven ashore, and sloops and schooners were dashing against the houses of Bay-street, in which great quantities of goods were damaged and destroyed. Except the Hornet man of war, which by cutting away her masts, rode out the storm, no vessel escaped being damaged or wrecked. The tremor and consternation which seized the inhabitants may be more easily conceived than expressed. Finding themselves in the midst of a tempestuous sea, and expecting the tide to flow till one o'clock, its usual hour, at eleven they retired to the upper stories of their houses, and there remained despairing of life. At this critical time Providence however mercifully interposed, and surprised them with a sudden and unexpected deliverance. Soon after eleven the wind shifted, in consequence of which the waters fell five feet in the space of ten minutes. By this happy change the Gulf Stream, stemmed by the violent blast, had freedom to run in its usual course, and the town was saved from imminent danger and destruction. Had the water continued to rise, and the tide to flow until its usual

hour, every inhabitant of Charlestown must have perished. Almost all the tiled and slated houses were uncovered, several persons were hurt, and some were drowned. The fortifications and wharves were almost entirely demolished: the provisions in the field, in the maritime parts, were destroyed, and numbers of cattle and hogs perished in the waters. The pest-house in Sullivan's island, built of wood, with fifteen persons in it, was carried several miles up Cooper river, and nine out of the fifteen were drowned. In short, such is the low situation of Charlestown, that it is subject to be destroyed at any time by such an inundation, and the frequent warnings the people have had may justly fill them with a deep sense of their dependent condition, and with constant gratitude to Providence for their preservation.

We have seen the hardships under which the Carolineans laboured from the hot climate and low situation of the province,—it may not be improper to take a view of those advantages afforded them which served to animate them amidst such difficulties to industry and perseverance. In that growing colony, where there are vast quantities of land unoccupied, the poorest class of people have many opportunities and advantages, from which they are entirely excluded in countries fully peopled and highly improved. During the first years of occupancy they are indeed exposed to many dangers, in providing for themselves and families a habitation for a shelter against the rigours of the climate, and in clearing fields for raising the necessaries of life. But when they have the good fortune to surmount the hardships of the first years of cultivation, the inconveniences gradually decrease in proportion to their improvements. The merchants being favoured with credit from Britain, are enabled to extend it to the swarm of labourers in the country. The planters having established their characters for honesty and industry, obtain hands to assist them in the harder tasks of clearing and cultivation. Their wealth consists in the increase of their slaves, stock, and improve-

ments. Having abundance of waste land, they can extend their culture in proportion to their capital. They live almost entirely on the produce of their estates, and consequently spend but a small part of their annual income. The surplus is yearly added to the capital, and they enlarge their prospects in proportion to their wealth and strength. At market if there be a great demand for the commodities they raise, this is an additional advantage, and renders their progress rapid beyond their most sanguine expectations; they labour, and they receive more and more encouragement to persevere, until they advance to an easy and comfortable state. It has been observed, on the other hand, that few or none of those emigrants that brought much property along with them have ever succeeded in that country.

Or, if the poor emigrant be an artificer, and chooses to follow his trade, the high price of labour is no less encouraging. By the indulgence of the merchants, or by the security of a friend, he obtains credit for a few negroes. He learns them his trade, and a few good tradesmen, well employed, are equal to a small estate. Having got some hands, instead of a labourer he becomes an undertaker, and enters into contract with his employer, to erect his house, to build his ship, to furnish his plantations with shoes, or the capital with bricks. In a little time he acquires some money, and, like several others in the city whose yearly gain exceeds what is requisite for the support of themselves and families, lays it out on interest. Ten and eight *per cent.* being given for money, proved a great temptation, and induced many, who were averse from the trouble of settling plantations, or were unable to bestow that attention to them which they demanded, to take this method of increasing their fortune. If the money-lender followed his employment in the capital, or reserved in his hands a sufficiency for family use, and allowed the interest to be added yearly to the capital stock, his fortune increased fast, and soon became considerable. Several persons preferred this method of accumulating riches

to that of cultivation, especially those whom age or infirmity had rendered unfit for action and fatigue.

Notwithstanding the extensive credit commonly allowed the planting interest by the merchants, the number of borrowers always exceeded that of the lenders of money. Having vast extent of territory, the planters were eager to obtain numbers of labourers, which raised the demand for money, and kept up the high rate of interest. The interest of money in every country is for the most part according to the demand, and the demand according to the profits made by the use of it. The profits must always be great where men can afford to take money at the rate of eight and ten *per cent.* and allow it to remain in their hands upon compound interest. In Carolina labourers on good lands cleared their first cost and charges in a few years, and therefore great was the demand for money in order to procure them.

Let us next take a view of those advantages in favour of the borrower of money. His landed estate he obtained from the crown. The quit-rents and taxes were trifling and inconsiderable. Being both landlord and farmer he had perfect liberty to manage and improve his plantation as he pleased, and was accountable to none but himself for any of the fruits of his industry. His estate furnished him with game and fish, which he had freedom to kill and use at pleasure. In the woods his cattle, hogs and horses grazed at their ease, attended perhaps only by a negro boy. If his sheep did not thrive well, he had calves, hogs and poultry in abundance for the use of his family. All his able labourers he could turn to the field, and exert his strength in raising his staple commodity. The low country being every where interspersed with navigable rivers and creeks, the expense of conveying his rice to the market, which otherwise would have been intolerable, was thereby rendered easy. Having provisions from his estate to support his family and labourers, he applies his whole

staple commodities for the purposes of answering the demands of the merchant and money-lender. He expects that his annual produce will not only answer those demands against him, but also bring an addition to his capital, and enable him to extend his hand still farther in the way of improvement. Hence it happened, that in proportion as the merchants extended credit to the planters, and supplied them with labourers for their lands, the profits returned to the capital yearly according to the increased number of hands employed in cultivation.

It is no easy thing to enumerate all the advantages of water carriage to a fruitful and commercial province. The lands are rendered more valuable by being situated on navigable creeks and rivers. The planters who live fifty miles from the capital, are at little more expense in sending their provisions and produce to its market, than those who live within five miles of it. The town is supplied with plenty of provisions, and its neighbourhood prevented from enjoying a monopoly of its market. By this general and unlimited competition the price of provisions is kept low, and while the money arising from them circulates equally and universally through the country, it contributes, in return, to its improvement. The planters have not only water carriage to the market for their staple commodities, but on their arrival the merchant again commits them to the general tide of commerce, and receives in return what the world affords profitable to himself, and useful to the country in which he lives. Hence it happened, that no town was better supplied than Charlestown with all the necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life.

Besides these advantages arising from good lands given them by the crown, the Carolineans received protection to trade, a ready market, drawbacks and bounties, by their political and commercial connexion with the mother country. The duties laid on many articles of foreign manufacture on their importation into Britain were drawn back, sometimes the whole, almost always a great part, on their

exportation to the colonies. These drawbacks were always in favour of the consumers, and supplied the provincial markets with foreign goods at a rate equally cheap as if they had been immediately imported from the place where they were manufactured. Hence the colonists were exempted from those heavy duties which their fellow-subjects in Britain were obliged to pay, on most articles of foreign manufacture which they consumed. Besides, upon the arrival of such goods in the country, the planters commonly had twelve months' credit from the provincial merchant, who was satisfied with payment once in the year from all his customers. So that to the consumers in Carolina, East-India goods, German manufactures, Spanish, Portugal, Madeira and Fayal wines came cheaper than to those in Great Britain. We have known coals, salt, and other articles brought by way of ballast, sold cheaper in Charlestown than in London.

But the colonists had not only those drawbacks on foreign goods imported, but they were also allowed bounties on several articles of produce exported. For the encouragement of her colonies Great Britain laid high duties on several articles imported from foreign countries, and gave the colonists premiums and bounties on the same commodities. The planting tobacco was prohibited in England, in order to encourage it in America. The bounties on naval stores, indigo, hemp, and raw silk, while they proved an encouragement to industry, all terminated in favour of the plantations. Nor ought the Carolineans to forget the perfect freedom they enjoyed with respect to their trade with the West Indies, where they found a convenient and most excellent market for their Indian corn, rice, lumber, and salt provisions, and in return had rum, unclayed sugar, coffee and molasses much cheaper than their fellow-subjects in Britain. I mention these things because many of the colonists are ignorant of the privileges and advantages they enjoy; for, upon a general view of their circumstances, and a comparison of their case with that of their fellow-subjects

in Britain and Ireland, they must find they had much ground for contentment, and none for complaint.

Another circumstance we may mention to which few have paid sufficient attention. It is true, Great Britain had laid the colonists under some restraints with respect to their domestic manufactures and their trade to foreign ports, but however much such a system of policy might affect the more northern colonies, it was at this time rather serviceable than prejudicial to Carolina. It served to direct the views of the people to the culture of lands, which was both more profitable to themselves and beneficial to the mother country. Though they had plenty of beaver skins, and a few hats were manufactured from them, yet the price of labour was so high, that the merchant could send the skins to England, import hats made of them, and undersell the manufacturers of Carolina. The province also furnished some wool and cotton, but before they could be made into cloth, they cost the consumer more money than the merchant demanded for the same goods imported. The province afforded leather, but before it could be prepared and made into shoes, the price was equally high, and often higher, than that of shoes imported from Britain. In like manner, with respect to many other articles, it would be for the advantage of the province as well as mother-country to export the raw materials and import the goods manufactured. For while the inhabitants of Carolina can employ their hands to more advantage in cultivating waste land, it will be their interest never to wear a woollen or linen rag of their own manufacture, to drive a nail of their own forging, nor use any sort of plate, iron, brass or stationary wares of their own making. Until the province shall grow more populous, cultivation is the most profitable employment, and the labourer injures himself and family by preferring the less to the more profitable branch of industry.

Few also are the restrictions upon trade, which, in effect, could be deemed hurtful; for, excepting the vessels which traded to the southward of Cape Finisterre, and were

obliged to return to England to cancel their bond before they sailed for Carolina, every other restraint may be said to be ultimately in favour of the province. It was the interest of such a flourishing colony to be always in debt to Great Britain, for the more labourers that were sent to it, the more rapidly it advanced in riches. Suppose the planters this year stand much indebted to the merchants, and, by reason of an unfavourable season, are rendered unable to answer the demands against them ; the merchants, instead of ruining them, indulge them for another year, and perhaps intrusted them with double the sum for which they stood indebted. This has frequently been found the most certain method of obtaining payment. In like manner the merchants must have indulgence from England, the primary source of credit. If the province could not obtain such indulgence from any part of the world as from the mother-country, it must be for its interest to support its credit with those generous friends who were both able and disposed to give it. To lodge the yearly produce of the province in the hands of those English creditors as soon as possible, is the surest means of supporting this credit. Besides, the London merchants being the best judges of the markets of Europe, can of course sell the staple commodities to the best advantage. The centrical situation of that city was favourable for intelligence ; her merchants are famous over the world for their extensive knowledge in trade ; they well knew the ports where there was the greatest demand for the commodity ; all which were manifestly in favour of the province in which it was raised. Were the planters to have the choice of their market, it is very doubtful whether such liberty would be for their interest. Were they to export their produce on their own bottom, they would certainly be great losers. Some who have made the attempt have honestly confessed the truth. While it divided their attention, it engaged them in affairs to which they were in general very great strangers. Even the provincial merchants themselves are not always perfect

judges of the markets in Europe, nor could they have obtained such unlimited credit in any other channel than that circumscribed by the laws of their country. Here is a co-operation of a number of persons united for promoting the interests and advantage of one another, and placed in circumstances and situations well adapted for that purpose. So that, in fact, it is not for the interest of Carolina, in its present advancing state, to be free from debt, far less of its planters to engage in trade, or its inhabitants in manufactures.

To form a right judgment of the progress of the province, and the mutual advantages resulting from its political and commercial connexion with Britain, we need only attend to its annual imports and exports. We cannot exactly say what its imports amounted to at this time; but if they amounted to above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling in the year 1740, as we have already seen, they must have arisen at least to two hundred thousand pounds sterling in 1754. The quantities of rice exported this year were 104,682 barrels; of indigo, 216,924 pounds weight; which, together with naval stores, provisions, skins, lumber, &c., amounted in value to two hundred and forty-two thousand, five hundred and twenty-nine pounds sterling. This shows the great value and importance of the province to Britain. And while she depends on the mother country for all the manufactures she uses, and applies her attention to such branches of business as are most profitable to herself and most beneficial to Britain, Carolina must in the nature of things prosper. Without this dependence, and mutual exchange of good offices, the colony might have subsisted, but could never have thrived and flourished in so rapid a manner.

CHAPTER X.

Although the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle extended to the subjects of both Britain and France residing in America, yet the boundaries of the respective territories claimed by those rival states were by no means fixed in so clear and precise a manner as to preclude all grounds of future dispute. The limits of Nova Scotia in particular, and those of the extensive back settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania, were neither clearly understood nor accurately marked. In consequence of which, as the colonists extended their culture backwards, encroachments were made, or supposed to be made, which created jealousies and differences between the British and French subjects on that continent. Some merchants trading to Virginia and Pennsylvania having formed a project for a settlement on the Ohio, obtained a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land from the king, together with an exclusive privilege of trafficking with Indian nations nigh that river. To these territories the French claimed a right; and, to keep possession, as well as to engross the Indian trade, built a fort on the banks of the Ohio river, which they called fort Duquesne. This situation was very convenient for preserving the friendship of Indian nations, an object of the utmost importance to the French, as the subjects of Britain in America were at that time vastly more numerous and powerful than those of France.

Tobacco being a plant which quickly exhausts the richest lands, the planters of Virginia were accustomed gradually to

stretch backward, and occupy such fresh spots of ground as promised them the greatest returns. Some had even crossed the Alleghany mountains, where they found rich valleys lying waste, upon which they settled plantations; and though the land-carriage of such a heavy and bulky commodity was expensive, yet they found that the superiority of their crops made them some compensation. To this territory beyond the mountains, as well as the other marked and measured out for the Ohio Company, the French laid claim, and sent a considerable garrison from Montreal to fort Duquesne, to defend their pretended right. The commander-in-chief of Canada wrote a letter to the governor of Virginia, complaining of encroachments made on his most Christian majesty's territories, and demanding that such British planters and traders as had settled on those lands should withdraw, otherwise he would be obliged to seize both their properties and persons. No regard being paid to his complaints, the commandant of fort Duquesne seized by force three British traders, and goods to a large amount, and carried them to Montreal. Upon which the governor of Virginia determined to resent the injury, and immediately began to concert measures for the protection of the frontiers. He raised a body of militia, and sent them over the mountains to watch the motions of their troublesome neighbours, and obtained reinforcements from North and South Carolina to assist them against the French garrison. This detachment, under the command of Major Washington, encamped near fort Duquesne, between whom and the French garrison hostilities commenced in America; and the flame of war afterward spreading, involved Europe in the quarrel.

From this period the great object which the French kept in view was to strengthen their frontiers, and make all possible preparations for defending themselves against the storm which they foresaw gathering in America. Though they seemed averse from an open declaration of war, yet they continued pouring troops into the continent, and raising a line of forts to secure a communication between their

colony at the mouth of the Mississippi and their great settlement in Canada. They amused the British administration with fruitless negociations about the limits of Nova Scotia, while they were busily employed in the execution of this great plan. Their design, however, was no secret to the more discerning part of the Americans, who plainly perceived from such preparations that hostilities were approaching. In Acadia they erected a fort at Chinecto, to confine the British subjects of Nova Scotia within the peninsula. At Crown Point another was raised, on lands claimed by the king of Great Britain, well situated for harassing the back settlements of New York and Connecticut. Another was built at Niagara, on land belonging to the Six Nations in alliance with Britain. While the Canadians were falling down the Ohio river, and raising strong-holds, the forces at Pensacola and New Orleans were also forcing their way up the Mississippi, and establishing garrisons on the most advantageous posts, on purpose to meet their friends from Canada, and confine the British settlements to the space between the mountains and the Atlantic sea. The more easily to accomplish this great design, it was necessary to secure by all possible means the interest of the savage nations. For this purpose missionaries were sent among the different tribes, who conformed to the dress, manners and customs of the savages, and represented the British heretics in the most odious light, making the Indians believe that their safety and happiness depended on the total extirpation of such men from America. Though some tribes rejected their friendship, yet it is certain that many were won over by their insinuating arts and intrigues, and entered into alliances with them. When a general congress was held at Albany fewer Indians than usual at such meetings attended, which afforded grounds of suspicion, and obliged the governors of the British colonies to double their diligence for watching the motions of their enterprising neighbours.

At the same time the situation of some of the British colonies proved favourable to the hostile preparations and

attempts of their enemies. Their clashing interests had bred jealousies and animosities among them, insomuch that it was no easy matter to bring them firmly to unite, in order to oppose a common enemy with vigour and spirit. They believed themselves unable to withstand the militia of Canada supported by some regiments of regular troops from France, and therefore in the most humble manner implored the protection of Britain. They were filled with terrible apprehensions of the French power, declaring that their vanity and ambition had nothing less in view at this period than to divide the western world with Spain, and make all its riches centre in the house of Bourbon. But whether they had such a view or not, one thing is plain, that the reduction of the British empire in America would facilitate the accomplishment of such a design, as the Portuguese dominions must afterward fall an easy prey to those two powerful potentates.

Though Great Britain was sensible of the danger which threatened her colonies, yet as the number of British settlers on the continent exceeded that of the French, being not less than twenty to one, she expected that they would unite among themselves, and raise a fund for the common defence. Hitherto she had nursed and protected them, and many of the colonies had arrived at a considerable degree of opulence and strength. They had the easiest taxes of any civilized people upon earth. They had enjoyed many civil privileges, and commercial advantages, from their connexion with the mother country. As their sources were considerable, it was hoped their zeal would not be wanting for their own defence. To give a check to any encroachments of the French in that quarter, Great Britain was more remotely, America herself more immediately, concerned. Instructions were therefore sent to the governors of the different provinces, to recommend unanimity to the people, and the necessity of an association for their mutual defence. But when the raising of men and money was proposed to the assemblies, they fell into disputes

among themselves, which became more violent in proportion as the enemy approached their habitations. Some pleaded extraordinary privileges from their charters; others started frivolous and absurd objections, insisting on punctilioes as pretences for delay. In short, so different were their constitutions and forms of government, so divided were they in their views and interests, that it was found impossible to unite them together, in order to give their force its due weight. The frontiers were naked and extensive, the inhabitants upon them were thin and scattered, and utterly unequal to the service requisite without the assistance of their neighbours. The flames of war had broken out on some of them, and the neighbouring provinces could no otherwise be safe than by stretching forth their hands in helping to extinguish them. Thus, while the French were acting in concert under one commander and chief, the British colonists were spending that time in barren deliberations and private disputes which they ought to have employed in fortifying their borders and checking the progress of their enemy. What was in fact the business of every man seemed to engage the attention of none, and all kept their eyes fixed on the mother country for protection, regarding themselves as disinterested in the general safety of the empire, and very unequal to their own defence.

While thus one province refused help to another, Great Britain, notwithstanding the extensive dominions she had to guard in different quarters of the globe, generously undertook the protection of America. As the greatest dangers seemed to hang over the province of Virginia, General Braddock was sent out with a considerable body of men to assist the Virginians in driving the French from their frontiers. This haughty and rash leader, being possessed of considerable skill in the European arts of war, entertained a sovereign contempt for an American enemy, and advanced against fort Duquesne without even the smallest doubt of success. However, the French had intelligence of his approach, and were prepared to receive him. Having

collected a large body of Indians, they had taken possession of an advantageous ground, and placed the regulars on a rising hill in front, and the savages in the dark woods on each side. General Braddock, instead of keeping small parties before the main body, to scour the woods as he advanced, and explore every dangerous pass, marched his men, according to the custom in Europe, in a close compacted body, and unfortunately fell into the snare which his enemies had laid for him. The French regulars in the front began the attack from behind a breast-work, while the Indians kept up an irregular and scattered fire from the dark thickets on each side, which surprised and confounded the British soldiers, who were utter strangers to such methods of attack. Almost every shot took effect, and the brave men observing their neighbours falling by their side, were put into confusion and fled, refusing to return to the charge against invisible assailants, notwithstanding every effort used by the officers for that purpose. Braddock with many brave officers and men fell in this field, and the remainder retreated with precipitation to Philadelphia, leaving these frontiers in a worse condition than they were in before.

Colonel Johnson, who marched with about three thousand men against Crown Point, was indeed more successful than this rash commander in Virginia. Being better acquainted with the woods, and the various methods of attack, he could both avail himself of the advantages, and guard against the dangers arising from the nature of the country. With cautious steps he advanced against the enemy, until he reached Lake George, where a party of his advanced guard being attacked, retreated to the main body. The French pursued them, and a bloody battle ensued between the two armies, equally skilled in bush-fighting, which terminated much to the honour of the British officer. The enemy was repulsed with considerable loss, leaving Baron de Diescau wounded in the field, who, with many others, fell into Johnson's hands, and were made prisoners of war.

This small advantage gained over the French served in some measure to revive the drooping spirits of the colonists; yet still they entertained the most discouraging apprehensions of the French power in the woods, and seemed ardently to long for the relief and assistance of the mother country.

While those hostilities were openly carrying on in the northern parts of America, it was judged prudent to consult the safety of the provinces to the south, and put them in the best posture of defence. To prevent the fatal influence of French emissaries among the Indian tribes, it was thought necessary to build some small forts in the heart of their country. The Indians on the Ohio river, from the success which attended their arms at fort Duquesne, entertained the highest ideas of French courage and conduct, and were trying to seduce the Cherokees, who were at this time the firmest allies of Britain. A message was sent to Governor Glen from the chief warrior of the over-hill settlements, acquainting him that some Frenchmen and their allies were among their people, endeavouring to poison their minds, and that it would be necessary to hold a general congress with the nation, and renew their former treaties of friendship. He assured the governor, that though he had been wounded in his younger years, and was now old, yet he would meet him half way for this purpose, if he should even be carried on the backs of his people. Accordingly, Governor Glen appointed a place for holding a congress, and agreed to meet the warrior; for as the clouds were gathering every where on the American horizon, the friendship of the Cherokees at such a time was an object of too much importance to Carolina to be overlooked or neglected.

It may be remarked, that the Cherokees differ in some respects from other Indian nations that have wandered often from place to place, and fixed their habitations on separate districts. From time immemorial they have had possession of the same territory which at present they occupy. They affirm, that their forefathers sprung from that ground, or descended from the clouds upon those hills. These lands

of their ancestors they value above all things in the world. They venerate the places where their bones lie interred, and esteem it disgraceful in the highest degree to relinquish these sacred repositories. The man that would refuse to take the field in defence of these hereditary possessions, is regarded by them as a coward, and treated as an outcast from their nation. To the over-hill villages the French had an easy access by means of rivers that emptied themselves into the Ohio and Mississippi. Their middle settlements and towns in the valley lay more convenient for trading with the Carolineans. Hitherto they despised the French, whom they called light as a feather, fickle as the wind, and deceitful as serpents; and, being naturally of a very grave cast, they considered the levity of that people as an unpardonable insult. They looked upon themselves as a great and powerful nation, and though their number was much diminished, yet they could bring from their different towns about three thousand men to the field. At this time they had neither arms nor ammunition to defend themselves against their enemy, and the governor of Carolina wanted liberty to build two forts on their lands, in order to secure their friendship and trade. As the French were tampering with them, and had shown a keenness more than common to gain some footing with them, it behoved the province to exert itself, in order to prevent if possible any alliance with its enemies.

Accordingly, in 1755, Governor Glen met the Cherokee warriors in their own country, with a view to purchase some lands from them; and, after the usual ceremonies previous to such solemn treaties were over, the governor sat down under a spreading tree, and Chulochcullah being chosen speaker for the Cherokee nation, came and took his seat beside him. The other warriors, about five hundred in number, stood around them in solemn silence and deep attention. Then the governor arose, and made a speech in name of his king, representing his great power, wealth and goodness, and his particular regard for his children the

Cherokees. He reminded them of the happiness they had long enjoyed by living under his protection; and added, that he had many presents to make them, and expected they would surrender a share of their territories in return for them. He acquainted them of the great poverty and wicked designs of the French, and hoped they would permit none of them to enter their towns. He demanded lands to build two forts in their country, to protect them against their enemies, and to be a retreat to their friends and allies, who furnished them with arms, ammunition, hatchets, clothes, and every thing that they wanted.

When the governor had finished his speech, Chulochcullah arose, and holding his bow in one hand, his shaft of arrows and other symbols used by them on such occasions in the other, in answer spoke to the following effect. "What I now speak our father the great king should hear—We are brothers to the people of Carolina—one house covers us all." Then taking a boy by the hand he presented him to the governor, saying, "We, our wives and our children, are all children of the great King George—I have brought this child, that when he grows up he may remember our agreement on this day, and tell it to the next generation, that it may be known for ever." Then opening his bag of earth, and laying the same at the governor's feet, he said, "We freely surrender a part of our lands to the great king —The French want our possesions, but we will defend them while one of our nation shall remain alive." Then showing his bows and arrows, he added, "These are all the arms we can make for our defence—We hope the king will pity his children the Cherokees, and send us guns and ammunition—We fear not the French—Give us arms and we will go to war against the enemies of the great king." Then delivering the governor a string of wampum in confirmation of what he had said, he added, "My speech is at an end—It is the voice of the Cherokee nation—I hope the governor will send it to the king, that it may be kept for ever."

At this congress a territory of prodigious extent was ceded and surrendered to the king. Deeds of conveyance were drawn up, and formally executed by their head men in name of the whole people. It contained not only much rich land, but there the air was more serene, and the climate more healthy, than in the maritime parts. It exhibited many pleasant and romantic scenes, formed by an intermixture of beautiful hills, fruitful valleys, rugged rocks, clear streams, and gentle waterfalls. The hills were of a stiff and tenacious clay, but the valleys of a deep, fat mould, and were covered with perpetual verdure. The acquisition at that time was so far of importance to Carolina, as it removed the savages at a greater distance from the settlements, and allowed the inhabitants liberty to extend backwards, in proportion as their number increased.

Soon after the cession of these lands, Governor Glen built a fort about three hundred miles from Charlestown, afterward called fort Prince George, which was situated on the banks of the river Savanna, and within gun-shot of an Indian town called Keowee. This fort was made in the form of a square, and had an earthen rampart about six feet high, on which stockades were fixed, with a ditch, a natural glacis on two sides, and bastions at the angles, on each of which four small cannon were mounted. It contained barracks for a hundred men, and was designed for a defence to the western frontiers of the province. About a hundred and seventy miles further down there was another strong-hold, called fort Moore, in a beautiful commanding situation on the banks of the same river. In the year following another fort was erected, called fort Loudon, among the Upper Cherokees, situated on Tenessee river, upwards of five hundred miles distant from Charlestown; to which place it was very difficult at all times, but, in case of a war with the Cherokees, utterly impracticable to convey necessary supplies. These strong-holds, together with those of Frederica and Augusta in Georgia, were

garrisoned by his majesty's independent companies of foot, stationed there for the protection of the two provinces.

After having fortified these frontiers, the settlers of Carolina began to stretch backward, and occupied lands above a hundred and fifty miles from the shore. New emigrants from Ireland, Germany, and the northern colonies obtained grants in these interior parts, and introduced the cultivation of wheat, hemp, flax and tobacco, for which the soil answered better there than in the low lands nearer the sea. The cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses multiplied fast, and having a country of vast extent to range over, they found plenty of provisions in it through the whole year. From different parts new settlers were invited to those hilly and more healthy parts of Carolina, where they laboured with greater safety than among the swamps, and success crowned their industry. By degrees public roads were made, and they conveyed their produce in wagons to the capital, where they found an excellent market for all their productions, but especially the provisions which they raised.

Although the soil and climate of the province suited the finest fruits and vegetable productions, yet the garden had long been neglected, and the orchard had engaged the attention only of a few. The people of Bermuda, not many years ago, carried to the market in Charlestown cabbages raised on that island, and the northern colonies their apples and Irish potatoes. But now the Carolineans found, by choosing a spot of land with judgment for the garden, that it would furnish them with all necessaries of this kind. Every spring and autumn brought them a crop of European pease and beans. Musk and water melons thrive exceedingly well even on the sandy maritime islands, and arrive at a degree of perfection unknown in many parts of Europe. All kinds of sallad, such as lettuce, endive, cresses, parsley, radishes, onions, will grow there in all seasons of the year, excepting one, and as nature has denied the people this kind of nourishment during the summer months, it is probable it

must on that account be unwholesome. The garden also yielded abundance of cabbages, broccoli, cauliflower, turnips, spinach, cucumbers, squashes, artichokes, pompions, asparagus, &c., in great perfection. The climate indeed refuses the people of Carolina currants and gooseberries, as every attempt to raise them has failed; but they have oranges, figs, peaches, apricots, nectarines and strawberries in plenty, which are exceedingly agreeable and refreshing in the summer season. Olives, grapes, cherries, citrons and plums will grow, though not cultivated in common; but apples, pears, pomegranates, chestnuts and walnuts are, or at least may be, raised in abundance. Many physical roots and herbs, such as China-root, snake-root, sassafras, are the spontaneous growth of the woods; and sage, balm and rosemary thrive well in the gardens. The planters distil brandy of an inferior quality from peaches; and gather berries from the myrtle bushes, of which they make excellent candles. The woods will also supply them with a variety of cherries, mulberries, wild grapes and nuts. In short, nature hath denied the diligent and skilful planter few of the most useful vegetables, and many delicious fruits grow to a degree of perfection exceeded by no country in Europe.

At the same time it must be acknowledged, that some disadvantages attend the climate with respect to the vegetable kingdom. European grapes have been transplanted, and several attempts made to raise wine in Carolina; but so overshaded are the vines planted in the woods, and so foggy is the season of the year when they begin to ripen, that they seldom come to maturity. But as excellent grapes have been raised in gardens where they are exposed to the sun, we are apt to believe that proper methods have not been taken for encouraging that branch of agriculture, considering its great importance in a national view. Some tolerable wine has been made from the native vines, which do not ripen so early in the season as those transplanted from Europe; and perhaps in some future day, when the planters have acquired greater skill,

and made trials of different soils and situations, the vineyard culture may succeed better than it has yet done, and turn to some national account, like other profitable articles of American husbandry.

In some seasons the cold blast from the north-west proves very destructive to the orange, the olive and peach trees. In mild winters the trees blossom early, sometimes by the beginning of February, often before the middle of it. After the juices begin to rise, should the north-west wind bring a cold frosty night, it commonly kills every tender shoot. Governor Glen makes mention of a frost which happened on the 7th of February, 1747, which killed almost all the orange trees in the country. The trees being ready to blossom about the time the frost came, it burst all their vessels, insomuch that not only the bark, but even the bodies of many of them were split, and all on the side next the sun. Such blasts are incredibly sharp and piercing. The governor says he found several birds frozen to death near his house. We cannot vouch for the truth of this assertion, but we know no climate where the cold is more severely felt by the human body.

With respect to the mineral kingdom we may say, who can tell what rich mines lie hid in Carolina, when no person has sought for them? If it be true that mountainous countries are favourable to mines, it may be presumed that this province, in which there are many extensive and high mountains, is not without its hidden treasures, no more than the other parts of the continent. Pennsylvania hath already exhibited to the world some useful minerals, and Carolina in time will probably do the same. But while the surface of the earth yields abundance of vegetable productions for the use of the inhabitants, and a plentiful livelihood can be obtained by easier means than that of digging into its bowels, it can scarcely be expected that they will apply themselves to deep and uncertain researches. It remains for a more populous and improved state, when ingenious men will probably attempt to explore those subterranean

riches, which as yet lie neglected. Mineral water has been found in several parts, and such springs will help both to lead men to the important discovery, and animate them with the hopes of success.

The province of Georgia, with respect to improvement, still remained little better than a wilderness, and the vast expense it had cost the mother country might perhaps have been laid out to greater advantage in other parts of the continent. In the government of that colony John Ellis, a Fellow of the Royal Society, succeeded Captain John Reynolds. The rich swamps on the sides of the rivers lay uncultivated; and the planters had not yet found their way into the interior parts of the country, where the lands not only exceeded those in the maritime parts in fertility, but where the climate was also more healthy and pleasant. Excepting vagabonds and fraudulent debtors, who fled to them from Carolina, few of the Georgians had any negroes to assist them in cultivation; so that, in 1756, the whole exports of the country were 2997 barrels of rice, 9335 lb. of indigo, 268 lb. of raw silk, which, together with skins, furs, lumber and provisions amounted only to 16,776 pounds sterling.

Although the hostilities which had commenced between Great Britain and France still continued, yet both potentates remained averse from an open declaration of war. William Lyttleton, now Lord Westcot, being appointed governor of South Carolina, in his way through the bay of Biscay, was intercepted by a French squadron under the command of Count de Guay, and carried into France; but an order from the French court came to release the ship, and permit the governor to return to England. The British commanders at sea indeed had orders to seize all French ships and bring them into port, yet as some hopes of an accommodation still remained, the crews were only confined, and the cargoes remained entire. But so soon as the news of the bare-faced invasions of our dominions in the Mediterranean, joined with the many encroachments in America, had

reached the British court, all prospects of an accommodation vanished at once, and war was publicly declared against France on the 17th of May, 1756.

Before the end of that year William Pitt, who had long been distinguished in the house of commons for a bold and powerful orator, was called to the helm, and to his uncommon popularity added the whole influence of administration. After his preferment such bold plans of operation were introduced to the council, as were calculated at once to rouse the British nation and to alarm her enemies. The city of London, having the greatest confidence in the spirit and abilities of the minister, poured in its treasures to his assistance, and so great were his resources, that his schemes, however vast, never failed for want of money. From this period vigour and decision attended almost every warlike enterprise; a martial spirit pervaded the navy and army, and every officer seemed emulous of distinction and glory in the service of his country. This new minister gave the enemy so much employment, that for the future they had scarce time to breathe, and extended the powerful arm of Britain from the centre to the extremities of the empire.

In America John Earl of Loudon had been appointed commander in chief; but such was the state of affairs on that continent, that all he could do was not sufficient to prevent the encroachments of the enemy. So disunited were the provincials, and so different were their principles, views and interests, that each colony seemed concerned only for its own defence, and determined to act independent of its neighbour; while the French were firmly united under one commander in chief, the governor of Canada. Lord Loudon plainly saw that nothing remained for him to achieve, and therefore pitched his camp at Albany, and there determined to continue with his little army on the defensive, until a reinforcement should arrive from Britain. The French still wore the laurel, and triumphed in the forest, having every possible advantage their heart could desire from the divided state of British America.

But although the campaign under Lord Loudon was opened under many disadvantages, this gallant officer was not idle during the year. Having made himself master of the state of affairs on the continent, he perceived that the French, though united and strong, were nevertheless vulnerable, and, drew up a plan of operations for the ensuing campaign, which he transmitted to the minister in Britain. Immediately preparations were made for carrying it into execution. It had been proposed to raise some regiments in America, but the levies went on slowly. As many of the colonists fit for service were foreigners, and only understood their native language, it was thought proper to allow them foreign officers to command them upon their taking the oaths to government, which contributed not a little to the more speedy completion of the royal American regiments.

Early in the year following a considerable reinforcement from Britain arrived at New York. The Indians in alliance with us were furnished with arms, and encouraged to join the army. Among the British forces sent out there was a regiment of Highlanders, who were in many respects well qualified for the service. It is impossible to describe how much the savages were delighted with the dress, manners, and music of this regiment. Their sprightly manner of dancing, their dexterity in the use of arms, and natural vivacity and intrepidity, the savages greatly admired, and expressed a strong inclination for attending the Scotch warriors to the field. To prevent them from joining the enemy it was not only necessary to employ those warriors, but it was thought they might be rendered useful for scouring the dark thickets before the regular army. Lieutenant Kennedy, to encourage them, entered into their humour, and, in order to head them, dressed and painted himself like an Indian. They gave him a squaw, and the nation to which she belonged having made him a king, no small service was expected from the new alliance.

When General Abercrombie succeeded Lord Loudon as commander in chief in America, the British force being

considerably augmented, bolder enterprises were undertaken. It was agreed to attack the French settlements in different places. Though this commander met with a sharp repulse at Ticonderago, the French paid dear for this advantage by the loss of Cape Breton, which opened the way into Canada. Fort Frontenac next surrendered to Colonel Bradstreet, in which were found vast quantities of provision and ammunition, that had been designed for the French forces on the Ohio. The great loss sustained by the enemy at this place facilitated the reduction of fort Duquesne, against which General Forbes was advancing with great vigilance and considerable force. This fortress the enemy, after a few skirmishes, determined to abandon; and having burnt their houses, and destroyed their works, fell down the Ohio river in boats to their strong-holds erected beyond the Cherokee mountains. No sooner was the British flag erected on fort Duquesne, than the numerous tribes of Indians came in and made their submission; and, from a conviction of the superior valour and strength of the British army, joined the conquerors. Although the enemy lost few men at this place, yet their power in America received a heavy stroke by the division of their force which the loss of it occasioned. All communication between their settlements on the south parts and those of Canada being cut off, they could no longer act in concert, and their future exertions were rendered more feeble and ineffectual.

However, the flight of this French garrison to the south promised little good to Carolina. The scene of action was changed only from one place to another, and the baleful influence of those active and enterprising enemies soon appeared among the upper tribes of Cherokees. An unfortunate quarrel with the Virginians helped to forward their designs, by opening to them an easier access into the towns of the savages. In the different expeditions against fort Duquesne, the Cherokees, agreeable to treaty, had sent considerable parties of warriors to the assistance of the British army. As the horses in those parts run wild in the

woods, it was customary, both among Indians and white people on the frontiers, to lay hold on them and appropriate them to their own purposes. While the savages were returning home through the back parts of Virginia, many of them having lost their horses, laid hold of such as came in their way, never imagining that they belonged to any individual in the province. The Virginians, however, instead of asserting their right in a legal way, resented the injury by force of arms, and killed twelve or fourteen of the unsuspicious warriors, and took several more prisoners. The Cherokees, with reason, were highly provoked at such ungrateful usage from allies, whose frontiers they had helped to change from a field of blood into peaceful habitations, and when they came home told what had happened to their nation. The flame soon spread through the upper towns, and those who had lost their friends and relations were implacable, and breathed nothing but fury and vengeance against such perfidious friends. In vain did the chieftains interpose their authority, nothing could restrain the furious spirits of the young men, who were determined to take satisfaction for the loss of their relations. The emissaries of France among them added fuel to the flame, by telling them that the English intended to kill every man of them, and make slaves of their wives and children. They instigated them to bloodshed, and for that purpose furnished them with arms and ammunition. The scattered families on the frontiers of Carolina lay much exposed to scalping parties of these savages, who commonly make no distinction of age or sex, but pour their vengeance indiscriminately on the innocent and guilty.

The garrison of fort Loudon, consisting of about two hundred men, under the command of Captains Demere and Stuart, first discovered the ill-humour in which the Cherokee warriors returned from the northern expedition. The soldiers, as usual, making excursions into the woods, to hunt for fresh provisions, were attacked by them, and some of them were killed. From this time such dangers threatened

the garrison, that every one was confined within the small boundaries of the fort. All communication with the distant settlement from which they received supplies being cut off, and the soldiers being but poorly provided, had no other prospects left but those of famine or death. Parties of young Indians took the field, and rushing down among the settlements, murdered and scalped a number of people on the frontiers.

The commanding officer at fort Prince George having received intelligence of those acts of hostility, despatched a messenger to Charlestown to inform Governor Lyttleton that the Cherokees were gone to war, and that it would be necessary speedily to warn the people of their danger. In consequence of which orders were given to the commanders of the militia immediately to collect their men, and stand in a posture of defence, while the governor was making preparations in Charlestown for marching against them, in order to give a speedy check to their progress. Parties of the independent companies were brought to Charlestown for this purpose. The militia of the country had orders to rendezvous at Congarees, where the governor, with such a force as he could procure from the lower parts, resolved to join them, and march to the relief of the frontier settlements.

No sooner had the Cherokees heard of these warlike preparations at Charlestown, than thirty-two of their chiefs set out for that place, in order to settle all differences, and prevent if possible a war with the Carolineans. For although they could not restrain some of their young men from acts of violence, yet the nation in general was still inclined to friendship and peace. As they arrived at Charlestown before the governor had set out on the intended expedition, a council was called, and the chiefs being sent for, Mr. Lyttleton, among other things, told them, "that he was well acquainted with all the acts of hostility of which their people had been guilty, and likewise those they intended against the English, and enumerated some of them;

then he added, that he would soon be in their country, where he would let them know his demands, and the satisfaction he required, which he would certainly take if they refused it. As they had come to Charlestown to treat with him as friends, they should go home in safety, and not a hair of their head should be touched; but as he had many warriors in arms in different parts of the province, he could not be answerable for what might happen to them unless they marched along with his army." After this speech Occonostota, who was distinguished by the name of the Great Warrior of the Cherokee nation, began to speak by way of reply; but the governor being determined that nothing should prevent his military expedition, declared, he would hear no talk he had to make, neither in vindication of his nation, nor any proposals with regard to peace. Lieutenant Governor Bull, who was better acquainted with the manners of Indians, and the dangers to which the province would be exposed from a war with them, urged the necessity of hearing the Great Warrior, and the happy consequences of an agreement before more blood was spilt. But Mr. Lyttleton remained inflexible, and put an end to the conference; with which behaviour the chiefs, however, were not a little displeased. For as they had travelled so far to obtain peace, and, after all, to be not only denied liberty to speak, but also to be disappointed with respect to the chief end of their journey, chagrined them much, and created many uneasy fears and suspicions.

A few days after holding this conference with the chieftains the governor set out for Congarees, the place of general rendezvous for the militia, and about one hundred and forty miles distant from Charlestown, where he mustered in all about one thousand four hundred men. To this place the Cherokees marched along with the army, and were to appearance contented, but in reality burning with fury and resentment. When the army moved from the Congarees, the chieftains, very unexpectedly, were all made prisoners, and, to prevent their escape to the nation, a captain's guard

was mounted over them, and in this manner they were obliged to march to fort Prince George. Being not only deprived of their liberty, which an Indian values above all things, but also compelled to accompany an enemy going against their families and friends, they could now no longer conceal their resentment. They turned exceedingly sullen, and showed that they were stung to the heart by such base treatment. The breach of promise an Indian holds an atrocious crime. To requite good intended with real evil, they with reason deemed an unpardonable injury. But what completed the ill usage, the thirty-two Indians, upon the arrival of the army at fort Prince George, were all shut up in a hut scarcely sufficient for the accommodation of six soldiers, where they spent their time in concerting plots for obtaining their liberty, and satisfaction for the injuries done them.

Governor Lyttleton's little army being not only ill armed and disciplined, but also discontented and mutinous, he therefore judged it dangerous to proceed farther into the enemy's country. Having beforehand sent for Attakullakulla, who was esteemed both the wisest man of the nation and the most steady friend of the English, to meet him at fort Prince George, this warrior hastened to his camp from an excursion against the French, in which he had taken some prisoners, one of whom he presented to the governor. Mr. Lyttleton knew, that, for obtaining a re-establishment of peace, there was not a man in the whole nation better disposed to assist him than this old warrior, though it was observed that he cautiously avoided making any offer of satisfaction. But so small was his influence among the Cherokees at this time, that they considered him as no better than an old woman on account of his attachment to their English enemies, and his aversion from going to war against them.

About the 18th of December, 1759, the governor held a congress with this warrior, and by an interpreter spoke to him to the following effect: "You told me yesterday that

you had a good talk to make, and expected the same from me. You know it is the will of the great king that his subjects and your people should live together in friendship, and you have said you desire not to break the chain thereof. It is a chain which our most gracious sovereign holds at one end, and you hold at the other. You know that, in order to keep this chain from contracting rust, and hinder it from being broken, it was necessary certain conditions should be made; and as all acts of the great king are kept till time shall be no more, so I now have in my hand those very conditions made with you and your people. It was agreed, that if an Indian should kill an Englishman, he shall be delivered up to be punished as the law requires. This was the ancient talk of our fathers and your fathers, and when King George took your nation under his protection he so ordered it for the future. This treaty has been since renewed by several of our king's governors of this province from time to time. It was the mercy of the great king that this way of restitution should be established, to prevent a war which might destroy your nation; whereas, at any time, by delivering up of the guilty person, the innocent might escape, and your people be suffered to live in friendship with ours.

"In the month of November, 1758, six deputies from your nation came to Charlestown, to make up all differences between our people and yours. They did then engage to observe the words of the treaty I have here, and which you know are the same with those formerly made by the great king. They received a large quantity of goods as a full compensation for the injuries done them by white people, and did solemnly promise to continue in strict friendship with all the king's subjects. Notwithstanding which they went to Statiquo under Moytoy and killed many white men, though no provocation had been given them. Thereupon I demanded satisfaction, according to the words of the great king, but they have given me none. As King George loves mercy better than war, I was willing to wait; and while our

people lay quietly in their houses, the Indians came, killed and scalped them. Last of all they put to death three men in the upper nation, and drove our people, who lived in their towns to furnish them with goods, into the forts. As you know that your people have been guilty of all these crimes, and many more, I expected you would not only come down with a good talk, but also would have offered satisfaction for them. I am now come here with a great number of warriors, to take that satisfaction I have more than once demanded. Perhaps some of you thought, that, as our people put up with such injuries, they were apprehensive of your power; but you shall now see that this was owing to their patience, and not to their want of resolution. You know well the strength of our province, and that one-third part of it is sufficient to destroy your nation. Besides, the white people in all the provinces are brothers, and linked together; we come not alone against you because we have suffered, for the Virginians and North Carolineans are prepared to march against you, unless satisfaction be given me. My brother the governor of Georgia will also prevent any ammunition from coming to you. Some time ago you sent to Virginia, offering to trade with that province, and goods were on their way to you which I have stopped, and they shall not proceed hither until I send directions for them. It is not necessary for me to say more to you, until you make satisfaction for killing the white people.

"Attakullakulla, you have been in England, and seen the power of the great king, and the number of his warriors. You also know, that, during these five years and more, we have been at war with the French, who were once numerous over all parts of America. You know I disdain to tell you a falsehood, and I will now inform you what success our army has had. Some of the last ships that arrived at Charlestown brought me a good deal of news. Our fleet has taken many ships of war belonging to the French. A messenger has arrived with an account that the great city of Quebec is reduced, as also, that the warriors of the great

king have taken all the forts on the lakes and upon the Ohio, and beat down all things in their way, as a hurricane would have done in its passage. The Indians in those parts, fearing his power, have made their peace with the great king. The Delawares, Shawanese, and all of them that live near fort Duquesne, have desired to be in friendship with us. The Choctaws also beg to be received under the king's pro tection by his beloved man Mr. Aitken, upon which a great number of traders are gone into their country with all sorts of goods. If you will not believe what I say, and imagine that the French are able to supply you with the necessaries which you want, you will be deceived, for they themselves are starving, and so much undone that they cannot furnish a blanket or a gun to the Choctaws, much less to you, who are removed at so great a distance from them.

"These things I have mentioned to show you that the great king will not suffer his people to be destroyed without satisfaction, and to let you know the people of this province are determined to have it. What I say is with a merciful intention. If I make war with you, you will suffer for your rashness; your men will be destroyed, and your women and children carried into captivity. What few necessaries you now have will soon be done, and you will get no more. But if you give the satisfaction I shall ask, the trade will be again opened with you, and all things go right. I have twice given you a list of the murderers; I will now tell you there are twenty-four men of your nation whom I demand to be delivered up to me, to be put to death, or otherwise disposed of as I shall think fit. Your people have killed that number of ours and more, therefore it is the least I will accept of. I shall give you till to-morrow morning to consider of it, and then I shall expect your answer. You know best the Indians concerned; several gangs at different times have been out, and I expect the twenty-four you shall deliver up will be those who have committed the murders."

To this long speech Attakullakulla replied in words to the following effect: "That he remembered the treaties

mentioned, as he had a share in making them: He owned the kindness of the province of South Carolina, but complained much of the bad treatment his countrymen had received in Virginia, which, he said, was the immediate cause of our present misunderstanding: That he had always been the firm friend of the English, of which he hoped his late fatiguing march against their enemies the French was a sufficient proof: That he would ever continue such, and would use all the influence he had to persuade his countrymen to give the governor the satisfaction he demanded, though he believed it neither would nor could be complied with, as they had no coercive authority one over another: He desired the governor to release some of the head men then confined in the fort to assist him; and added, that he was pleased to hear of the successes of his brothers the English, but could not help mentioning, that they showed more resentment against the Cherokees than they had used to other nations that had disobliged them; that he remembered some years ago several white people belonging to Carolina were killed by the Choctaws, for whom no satisfaction had either been given or demanded."

Agreeable to the request of Attakullakulla, the governor released Occonostota, Fiftoe the chief man of Keowee town, and the head warrior of Estaloe, who next day delivered up two Indians, whom Mr. Lyttleton ordered to be put in irons. After which all the Cherokees present, who knew their connexions to be weak, being alarmed, fled out of the way, so that it was impossible to complete the number demanded. Attakullakulla, being then convinced that peace could not be obtained on such terms as the governor required, resolved to go home and patiently wait the event; but no sooner was Mr. Lyttleton made acquainted with his departure, than he despatched a messenger after him to bring him back to his camp; and being desirous of finishing the campaign with as much credit as possible, immediately on his return began to treat of peace. Accordingly a treaty was drawn up and signed by the governor and six of the head men; in which

it was agreed, that those twenty-two chieftains of the Cherokees should be kept as hostages confined in the fort, until the same number of Indians guilty of murder be delivered up to the commander in chief of the province; that trade should be opened and carried on as usual; that the Cherokees should kill, or take every Frenchman prisoner, who should presume to come into their nation during the continuance of the war; and that they should hold no intercourse with the enemies of Great Britain, but should apprehend every person, white or red, found among them, that may be endeavouring to set the English and Cherokees at variance, and interrupt the friendship and peace establishd between them.

After having concluded this treaty with the Cherokees, the governor resolved to return to Charlestown. But whether the Indians who put their mark to it understood the articles of agreement or not, we cannot pretend to affirm; one thing is certain, that few or none of the nation afterward paid the smallest regard to it. The treacherous act of confining their chiefs, against whom no charge could be brought, and who had travelled several hundred miles in order to obtain peace for their nation, had made a strong impression on their minds, but particularly on that of Occonostota, who breathed nothing but fury and vengeance against such false friends. Instead of permitting them to return home without hurting a hair of their head, as the governor promised in Charlestown, they were close confined in a miserable hut, having permission neither to see their friends nor even the light of day. It was said they were kept only as hostages, until the number of criminals he demanded was completed by their nation; but if they were robbed of their liberty, it was of little consequence to them under what denomination they were confined. It was said to be done by the consent of the nation, as six of its chiefs had signed the articles of peace; but in whatever light we view the act, it appears to be one of those base and unjustifiable advantages which policy and craft commonly take of the weakness and

simplicity of more unfortunate neighbours; and nothing less could have been expected, than that these wild and independent warriors would resent such base and unmerited usage on the first opportunity that offered.

Scarcely had Governor Lyttleton concluded the treaty of fort Prince George when the small-pox, which was raging in an adjacent Indian town, broke out in his camp. As few of his little army had ever gone through that distemper, and as the surgeons were totally unprovided for such an accident, his men were struck with terror, and in great haste returned to the settlements, cautiously avoiding all intercourse one with another, and suffering much from hunger and fatigue by the way. The governor followed them, and arrived in Charlestown about the beginning of the year 1760. Though not a drop of blood had been spilt during the expedition, he was received like a conqueror, with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Addresses the most flattering were presented to him by the different societies and professions, and bon-fires and illumination testified the high sense the inhabitants entertained of his merit and services, and the happy consequences which they believed would result from his expedition.

However, those rejoicings on account of the peace were scarcely over, when the news arrived that fresh hostilities had been committed, and the governor was informed that the Cherokees had killed fourteen men within a mile of fort Prince George. The Indians had contracted an invincible antipathy to Captain Coytmore, the officer whom Mr. Lyttleton had left commander of that fort. The treatment they had received at Charlestown, but especially the imprisonment of their chiefs, had now converted their former desire of peace into the bitterest rage for war. Occonostota, a chieftain of great influence, had become a most implacable and vindictive enemy to Carolina, and determined to repay treachery with treachery. Having gathered a strong party of Cherokees, he surrounded fort Prince George, and compelled the garrison to keep within

their works; but finding that he could make no impression on the fort, nor oblige the commander to surrender, he contrived the following stratagem for the relief of his countrymen confined in it.

As that country was every where covered with woods, he placed a party of savages in a dark thicket by the river side, and then sent an Indian woman, whom he knew to be always welcome at the fort, to inform the commander that he had something of consequence to communicate to him, and would be glad to speak with him at the river side. Captain Coytmore imprudently consented, and without any suspicions of danger, walked down towards the river, accompanied by Lieutenants Bell and Foster. Occonostota appearing on the opposite side, told him he was going to Charlestown to procure a release of the prisoners, and would be glad of a white man to accompany him as a safeguard; and, the better to cover his dark design, had a bridle in his hand, and added, he would go and hunt for a horse to him. The captain replied, that he should have a guard, and wished he might find a horse, as the journey was very long. Upon which, the Indian, turning quickly about, swung the bridle thrice round his head, as a signal to the savages placed in ambush, who instantly fired on the officers, shot the captain dead on the spot, and wounded the other two. In consequence of which, orders were given to put the hostages in irons, to prevent any farther danger from them. But while the soldiers were attempting to execute their orders, the Indians stabbed the first man who had hold of them with a knife, and wounded two more; upon which, the garrison, exasperated to the highest degree, fell on the unfortunate hostages, and butchered them in a manner too shocking to relate.

There were few men in the Cherokee nation that did not lose a friend or a relation by this massacre, and, therefore, with one voice, all immediately declared for war. The leaders in every town seized the hatchet, telling their followers that the spirits of murdered brothers were flying

around them, and calling out for vengeance on their enemies. From the different towns, large parties of warriors took the field, painted in the most formidable manner, and arrayed with all their instruments of death. All sung the song of war, and burning with impatience to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies, rushed down among innocent and defenceless families on the frontiers of Carolina, where men, women and children, without distinction, fell a sacrifice to their merciless fury. Such as fled to the woods, and escaped the scalping-knife, perished with hunger; and those whom they made prisoners, were carried into the wilderness, where they suffered inexpressible hardships. Every day brought fresh accounts to the capital of their ravages, murders, and desolations. But while the back settlers impatiently looked to their governor for relief, the small-pox raged to such a degree in town, that few of the militia could be prevailed on to leave their distressed families to serve the public. In this extremity, an express was sent to General Amherst, the commander-in-chief in America, acquainting him with the deplorable situation of the province, and imploring his assistance in the most pressing terms. Accordingly, a battalion of Highlanders, and four companies of the Royal Scots, under the command of Colonel Montgomery, now Earl of Eglinton, were ordered immediately to embark, and sail for the relief of Carolina.

In the mean time William Lyttleton being appointed Governor of Jamaica, the charge of the province devolved on William Bull, a man of great integrity and erudition. Application was made to the neighbouring provinces of North Carolina and Virginia for relief, and seven troops of rangers were raised to patrole the frontiers, and prevent the savages from penetrating farther down among the settlements. A considerable sum was voted for presents to such of the Creeks, Chickesaws and Catabaws as should join the province and go to war against the Cherokees. Provisions were sent to the families that had escaped to Augusta and fort Moore, and the best preparations possible made for chastis-

ing their enemy, so soon as the regulars coming from New York should arrive in the province.

Before the end of April, 1760, Colonel Montgomery landed in Carolina, and encamped at Monk's Corner. Great was the joy of the province upon the arrival of this gallant officer; but as the conquest of Canada was the grand object of this year's campain in America, he had orders to strike a sudden blow for the relief of Carolina, and return to head quarters at Albany without loss of time. Nothing was therefore omitted that was judged necessary to forward the expedition. Several gentlemen of fortune, excited by a laudable zeal for the safety of their country, formed themselves into a company of volunteers, and joined the army. The whole force of the province was collected, and ordered to rendezvous at Congarees. Wagons, carts, and horses were impressed for the service of his majesty, and the colonists flatered themselvas with the hopes that they would now be able to punish the insolence of their barbarious enemies.

A few weeks after his arrival Colonel Montgomery marched to the Congarees, where he was joined by the internal strength of the province, and immediately set out for the Cherokee country. For a guide he was provided with a half-blooded Indian, who was well acquainted with the roads through the woods, and the passages through the rivers. Having little time allowed him, his march was uncommonly spirited and expeditious. After reaching a place called Twelve-mile River, he encamped on an advantageous ground, and marched with a party of his men in the night to surprise Estatoe, an Indian town about twenty miles from his camp. The first noise he heard by the way was the barking of a dog before his men, where he was informed there was an Indian town called Little Keowee, which he ordered the light infantry to surround, and, except women and children, to put every Indian in it to the sword. Having done this piece of service, he proceeded to Estatoe, which he found abandoned by all the savages, excepting

a few who had not had time to make their escape. This town, which consisted of at least two hundred houses, and was well provided with corn, hogs, poultry, and ammunition, he reduced to ashes. Sugar Town, and every other settlement in the lower nation, afterward shared the same fate. The surprise to every one of them was nearly equal; for as the army darted upon them like lightning, the savages could scarcely save themselves, far less any little property that they had. In these lower towns about sixty Indians were killed and forty made prisoners, and the rest driven to seek for shelter among the mountains. Having finished his business among these lower settlements with the small loss of three or four men, he then marched to the relief of fort Prince George, which had been for some time invested by savages, insomuch that no soldier durst venture beyond the bounds of the fort, and where the garrison was in distress, not for the want of provisions, but of wood to prepare them.

While the army rested at fort Prince George, Edmund Atkin, agent for Indian affairs, despatched two Indian chiefs to the middle settlements, to inform the Cherokees that by suing for peace they might obtain it, as the former friends and allies of Britain. At the same time he sent a messenger to fort Loudon, requesting Captains Demerè and Stuart, the commanding officers at that place, to use their best endeavours for obtaining peace with the Cherokees in the upper towns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the savages were as yet disposed to listen to no terms of accommodation, determined to carry the chastisement a little farther. Dismal was the wilderness into which he entered, and many were the hardships and dangers he had to encounter, from dark thickets, rugged paths, and narrow passes; in which a small body of men, properly posted, might harass and tire out the bravest army that ever took the field. Having on all hands suspicious grounds, he found occasion for constant vigilance and circumspection. While he was piercing through the thick forest he had numberless difficulties to

surmount, particularly from rivers fordable only at one place, and overlooked by high banks on each side, where an enemy might attack him with advantage, and retreat with safety. When he had advanced within five miles of Etchoe, the nearest town in the middle settlements, he found there a low valley, covered so thick with bushes that the soldiers could scarcely see three yards before them, and in the middle of which there was a muddy river, with steep clay banks. Through this dark place, where it was impossible for any number of men to act together, the army must necessarily march; and therefore Captain Morison, who commanded a company of rangers, well acquainted with the woods, had orders to advance and scour the thicket. He had scarcely entered it, when a number of savages sprung from their lurking den, and firing on them, killed the captain and wounded several of his party. Upon which the light infantry and grenadiers were ordered to advance and charge the invisible enemy, which they did with great courage and alacrity. A heavy fire then began on both sides, and during some time the soldiers could only discover the places where the savages were hid by the report of their guns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the number of Indians that guarded this place was great, and that they were determined obstinately to dispute it, ordered the Royal Scots, who were in the rear, to advance between the savages and a rising ground on the right, while the Highlanders marched towards the left to sustain the light infantry and grenadiers. The woods now resounded with horrible shouts and yells, but these, instead of intimidating the troops, seemed rather to inspire them with double firmness and resolution. At length the savages gave way, and in their retreat falling in with the Royal Scots, suffered considerably before they got out of their reach. By this time the Royals being in the front and the Highlanders in the rear, the enemy stretched away and took possession of a hill, seemingly disposed to keep at a distance, and always retreating as the army advanced. Colonel Montgomery perceiving that they kept aloof, gave

orders to the line to face about, and march directly for the town of Etchoe. The enemy no sooner observed this movement, than they got behind the hill, and ran to alarm their wives and children. During the action, which lasted above an hour, Colonel Montgomery, who made several narrow escapes, had twenty men killed, and seventy-six wounded. What number the enemy lost is uncertain, but some places were discovered into which they had thrown several of their slain, from which it was conjectured that they must have lost a great number, as it is a custom among them to carry their dead off the field. Upon viewing the ground, all were astonished to see with what judgment and skill they had chosen it. Scarcely could the most experienced officer have fixed upon a spot more advantageous for waylaying and attacking an enemy, according to the method of fighting practised among the Indian nations.

This action, though it terminated much in favour of the British army, had nevertheless reduced it to such a situation as made it very imprudent, if not altogether impracticable, to penetrate farther into those woods. The repulse was far from being decisive, for the enemy had only retired from one to another advantageous situation, in order to renew their attack when the army should again advance. Humanity would not suffer the commander to leave so many wounded men exposed to the vengeance of savages, without any strong-hold in which he might lodge them, or some detachment, which he could not spare, to protect them. Should he proceed farther, he saw plainly that he must expect frequent skirmishes, which would increase the number, and the burning of so many Indian towns would be a poor compensation for the great risk and perhaps wanton sacrifice of so many valuable lives. To furnish horses for the men already wounded obliged him to throw many bags of flour into the river, and what remained was no more than sufficient for his army during their return to fort Prince George. Orders were therefore given for a retreat, which was made with great regularity, although the enemy

continued hovering around them, and annoying them to the utmost of their power. A large train of wounded men was brought above sixty miles through a hazardous country in safety, for which no small share of honour and praise was due to the officer that conducted the retreat. Never did men endure greater hardships and fatigues with fewer complaints than this little army during the expedition. Such confidence did they repose in their leader, that they seemed to despise all difficulties and dangers which he shared along with them in the service of their king and country.

After Colonel Montgomery had returned to the settlements, and was preparing to embark for New-York, agreeable to his orders from General Amherst, the Carolineans were again thrown under the most dreadful apprehensions from the dangers which hung over the province. This appears from the following address of the general assembly, presented to Lieutenant Governor Bull on the 11th of July, 1760. "We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons house of assembly of this province, return your honour our sincere thanks for the advices you have been pleased to communicate to us in the morning; and being deeply affected with the contents of Colonel Grant's letter, which imports that Colonel Montgomery will soon embark with his majesty's troops under his command to join General Amherst; humbly beg leave to represent to your honour, that we apprehend the province to be in a much more dangerous situation at this juncture, than it was at the time when the said troops arrived here; as the Upper Creek Indians have since murdered several English traders in their towns, and made no offer to give up the murderers, or make any other satisfaction whatever; whence we have the greatest reason to believe they will soon break out into open war. And by what is mentioned in Colonel Grant's letter, we fear that our implacable enemies the French have already spirited up and prevailed with the Choctaws to assist the Cherokees against us. And notwithstanding the present rupture with the Cherokees has cost the province,

in less than nine months, near 50,000 pounds sterling, yet all our endeavours to raise a number of forces capable of preventing the Cherokees from ravaging the back settlements have proved ineffectual. This being the situation of the province when we had only the Cherokees to contend with, how deplorable then must our case be, should Colonel Montgomery depart with the king's troops under his command, and we have the united attacks of the Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws, (the three most powerful nations of Indians on the continent,) to repel, can be better imagined than described. Being truly sensible of your honour's good inclinations to render every service in your power to this province, we unanimously intreat your honour to use the most pressing instances with Colonel Montgomery not to depart with the king's troops, as it may be attended with the most pernicious consequences." Accordingly the lieutenant governor having given the colonel the fullest view of those extensive dangers to which the province after his departure would be exposed, prevailed with him to leave four companies of the royal regiment, under the command of Major Frederick Hamilton, for covering the frontiers, while he embarked with the battalion of Highlanders, and sailed for New-York.

In the mean time, the distant garrison of fort Loudon, consisting of two hundred men, was reduced to the dreadful alternative of perishing by hunger, or submitting to the mercy of the enraged Cherokees. The Governor having information that the Virginians had undertaken to relieve it, for a while seemed satisfied, and anxiously waited to hear the news of that happy event. But the Virginians were equally ill qualified with their neighbours of Carolina, to send them any assistance. So remote was the fort from every settlement, and so difficult was it to march an army through the barren wilderness, where the various thickets were lined with enemies, and to carry, at the same time, sufficient supplies along with them, that the Virginians had dropped all thoughts of the attempt. Provisions being en-

tirely exhausted at fort Loudon, the garrison was reduced to the most deplorable situation. For a whole month, they had no other subsistence but the flesh of lean horses and dogs, and a small supply of Indian beans, which some friendly Cherokee women procured for them by stealth. Long had the officers endeavoured to animate and encourage the men with the hopes of relief; but now being blockaded night and day by the enemy, and having no resource left, they threatened to leave the fort, and die at once by the hands of savages, rather than perish slowly by famine. In this extremity, the commander was obliged to call a council of war, to consider what was proper to be done; when the officers were all of opinion, that it was impossible to hold out any longer, and therefore agreed to surrender the fort to the Cherokees, on the best terms that could be obtained from them. For this purpose, Captain Stuart, an officer of great sagacity and address, and much beloved by all the Indians that remained in the British interest, procured leave to go to Chotè, one of the principal towns in the neighbourhood, where he obtained the following terms of capitulation, which were signed by the commanding officer and two of the Cherokee chiefs. "That the garrison of Fort Loudon march out with their arms and drums, each soldier having as much powder and ball as their officer shall think necessary for their march, and all the baggage they may choose to carry: That the garrison be permitted to march to Virginia, or fort Prince George, as the commanding officer shall think proper, unmolested; and that a number of Indians be appointed to escort them, and hunt for provisions during their march: That such soldiers as are lame, or by sickness disabled from marching, be received into the Indian towns, and kindly used until they recover, and then be allowed to return to Fort Prince George: That the Indians do provide for the garrison as many horses as they conveniently can for their march, agreeing with the officers and soldiers for payment: That the fort, great guns, powder, ball, and spare arms, be delivered to the Indians without

fraud or further delay, on the day appointed for the march of the troops."

Agreeable to those terms stipulated, the garrison delivered up the fort, and marched out with their arms, accompanied by Occonostota, Judd's friend, the prince of Chotè, and several other Indians, and that day went fifteen miles on their way to fort Prince George. At night they encamped on a plain about two miles from Taliquo, an Indian town, when all their attendants, upon one pretence or another, left them; which the officers considered as no good sign, and therefore placed a strict guard round their camp. During the night they remained unmolested, but next morning about break of day a soldier from an out-post came running in, and informed them that he saw a vast number of Indians, armed, and painted in the most dreadful manner, creeping among the bushes, and advancing in order to surround them. Scarcely had the officer time to order his men to stand to their arms, when the savages poured in upon them a heavy fire from different quarters, accompanied with the most hideous yells, which struck a panic into the soldiers, who were so much enfeebled and dispirited that they were incapable of making any effectual resistance. Captain Demerè, with three other officers, and about twenty-six private men, fell at the first onset. Some fled into the woods, and were afterward taken prisoners and confined among the towns in the valley. Captain Stuart, and those that remained, were seized, pinioned, and brought back to fort Loudon. No sooner had Attakullakulla heard that his friend Mr. Stuart had escaped, than he hastened to the fort, and purchased him from the Indian that took him, giving him his rifle, clothes, and all he could command, by way of ransom. He then took possession of Captain Demerè's house, where he kept his prisoner as one of his family, and freely shared with him the little provisions his table afforded, until a fair opportunity should offer for rescuing him from their hands; but the poor soldiers were kept in a miserable state of captivity for some time, and then redeemed by the province at a great expense.

During the time these prisoners were confined at fort Loudon, Occonostota formed a design of attacking fort Prince George, and for this purpose despatched a messenger to the settlements in the valley, requesting all the warriors there to join him at Stickoey old town. By accident a discovery was made of ten bags of powder, and ball in proportion, which the officers had secretly buried in the fort, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This discovery had nearly proved fatal to Captain Stuart, and would certainly have cost his life, had not the interpreter had so much presence of mind as to assure the enemy that these warlike stores had been concealed without his knowledge or consent. The Indians having now abundance of ammunition for the siege, a council was called at Choté, to which the captain was brought, and put in mind of the obligations he lay under to them for sparing his life; and as they had resolved to carry six cannon and two cohorns with them against fort Prince George, to be managed by men under his command, they told him he must go and write such letters to the commandant as they should dictate to him. They informed him at the same time, that if that officer should refuse to surrender, they were determined to burn the prisoners one after another before his face, and try if he could be so obstinate as to hold out while he saw his friends expiring in the flames. Captain Stuart was much alarmed at his situation, and from that moment resolved to make his escape or perish in the attempt. His design he privately communicated to Attakullakulla, and told him how uneasy he was at the thoughts of being compelled to bear arms against his countrymen. He acknowledged that he had always been a brother; and hoped he would assist him to get out of his present perilous circumstances. The old warrior, taking him by the hand, told him he was his friend, he had already given one proof of his regard, and intended to give another so soon as his brother should return and help him to concert the measure. He said he was well apprised of the ill designs of his countrymen, and should he go and persuade

the garrison of fort Prince George to do as he had done, what could he expect but that they should share the same dismal fate. Strong and uncultivated minds carry their friendship, as well as their enmity, to an astonishing pitch. Among savages family friendship is a national virtue, and civilized mortals may blush when they consider how much barbarians have often surpassed them in the practice of it. The instance I am going to relate is as singular and memorable as many that have been recorded in the annals of past ages.

Attakullakulla claimed Captain Stuart as his prisoner, and had resolved to deliver him from danger, and for this purpose there was no time to be lost. Accordingly he gave out among his countrymen that he intended to go a hunting for a few days, and carry his prisoner along with him to eat venison, of which he declared he was exceedingly fond. At the same time the captain went through among his soldiers, telling them that they could never expect to be ransomed by the province, if they gave the smallest assistance to the Indians against fort Prince George. Having settled all matters, they set out on their journey, accompanied by the warrior's wife, his brother, and two soldiers, who were the only persons in the garrison that knew how to convey great guns through the woods. For provisions they depended on what they might kill by the way. The distance to the frontier settlements was great, and the utmost expedition necessary to prevent any surprise from Indians pursuing them. Nine days and nights did they travel through a dreary wilderness, shaping their course by the light of the sun and moon for Virginia, and traversing many hills, valleys and paths that had never been crossed before but by savages and wild beasts. On the tenth they arrived at the banks of Holston's river, where they fortunately fell in with a party of three hundred men, sent out by Colonel Bird for the relief of such soldiers as might make their escape that way from fort Loudon. On the fourteenth day the captain reached Colonel Bird's camp on the frontiers of Virginia, where having loaded his faithful friend

with presents and provisions, he sent him back to protect the unhappy prisoners till they should be ransomed, and to exert his influence among the Cherokees for the restoration of peace.

No sooner had Captain Stuart made his escape from the hands of the savages, than he immediately began to concert ways and means for the relief of his garrison. An express was despatched to Lieutenant Governor Bull, informing him of the sad disaster that had happened to the garrison of fort Loudon, and of the designs of the enemy against fort Prince George. In consequence of which, orders were given to Major Thompson, who commanded the militia on the frontiers, to throw in provisions for ten weeks into that fort, and warn the commanding officer of his danger. At the same time a messenger was sent to Attakullakulla, desiring him to inform the Cherokees that fort George was impregnable, having vast quantities of powder buried under ground every where around it, to blow up all enemies that should attempt to come near it. Presents of considerable value were sent to redeem the prisoners at fort Loudon, a few of whom had by this time made their escape; and afterward not only those that were confined among the towns in the valley, but also all that had survived the hardships of hunger, disease and captivity in the upper towns were released, and delivered up to the commanding officer at fort Prince George.

It might now have been expected that the vindictive spirit of the savages would be satisfied, and that they would be disposed to listen to some terms of accommodation. This treacherous conduct to the soldiers at fort Loudon, they intended as a satisfaction for the harsh treatment their relations had met with at fort Prince George; and dearly had the province paid for the base imprisonment and horrid massacre of the chiefs at that place. Still, however, a great majority of the nation spurned at every offer of peace. The lower towns had all been destroyed by Colonel Montgomery; the warriors in the middle settlements had

lost many friends and relations; and several Frenchmen had crept in among the upper towns, and helped to foment their ill-humour against Carolina. Lewis Latinac, a French officer, was among them, and proved an indefatigable instigator to mischief. He persuaded the Indians that the English had nothing less in view than to exterminate them from the face of the earth; and, furnishing them with arms and ammunition, urged them on to war. At a great meeting of the nation he pulled out his hatchet, and, striking it into a log of wood, called out, Who is the man that will take this up for the king of France? Saloué, the young warrior of Estatoe, instantly laid hold of it, and cried out, "I am for war. The spirits of our brothers who have been slain still call upon us to avenge their death. He is no better than a woman that refuses to follow me." Many others seized the tomahawk, yet dyed in British blood, and burnt with impatience for the field.

Under the flattering appearance of a calm were those clouds again gathering; however, Lieutenant Governor Bull, who knew well how little Indians were to be trusted on any occasion, kept the Royal Scots and militia on the frontiers in a posture of defence. But finding the province still under the most dreadful apprehensions from their savage neighbours, who continued insolent and vindictive, and ready to renew their ravages and murders, he made application a second time to General Amherst for assistance. Canada being now reduced, the commander-in-chief could the more easily spare a force adequate to the purpose intended. The brave Colonel Montgomery, who conducted the former expedition, having by this time embarked for England, the command of the Highlanders devolved on Lieutenant Colonel James Grant, who received orders to return to the relief of Carolina. Early in the year 1761 he landed at Charlestown, where he took up his winter quarters, until the proper season should approach for taking the field. Unfortunately during this time many of the soldiers, by drinking brackish water, were taken sick, which

afforded the inhabitants an opportunity of showing their kindness and humanity. They considered themselves, and with reason, under the strongest obligations to treat men with tenderness, who came to protect them against their enemies, and therefore they brought the sick soldiers into their houses, and nursed them with the greatest care and attention.

In this campaign the province determined to exert itself to the utmost, that, in conjunction with the regular forces, a severe correction might be given to those troublesome savages. For this purpose a provincial regiment was raised, and the command of it given to Colonel Middleton. Presents were provided for the Indian allies, and several of the Chickesaws and Catabaws, engaged to assist them against the Cherokees. But the Creeks, whose help was also strongly solicited, played an artful game between the English and the French, and gave the one or the other encouragement, according to the advantages they reaped from them. All possible preparations were made for supplying the army with provisions at different stages, and with such carts and horses as were thought necessary to the expedition. Great had been the expense which this quarrel with the Cherokees had already occasioned; now they flattered themselves that by one resolute exertion more they would tire the savages of war, and oblige them to accept of such terms of peace as they thought proper to dictate.

As all white men in the province, of the military age, were soldiers as well as citizens, and trained in some measure to the use of arms, it was no difficult matter to complete the provincial regiment. Their names being registered in the list of militia; on every emergency they were obliged to be ready for defence, not only against the incursions of Indians, but also against the insurrection of negroes; and although the same prompt obedience to orders could not be expected from them that is necessary in a regular army, yet the provincials had other advantages which compensated for that defect. They were better acquainted than strangers

with the woods, and the nature of that country in which their military service was required. They were seasoned to the climate, and had learned from experience what clothes, meat and drink were most proper to enable them to do their duty. In common occasions, when the militia was called out, the men received no pay, but when employed, as in this Cherokee war, for the public defence, they were allowed the same pay with the king's forces.

So soon as the Highlanders had recovered from their sickness, and were in a condition to take the field, Colonel Grant began his march for the Cherokee territories. After being joined by the provincial regiment and Indian allies, he mustered in all about two thousand six hundred men. Having served some years in America, and been in several engagements with Indians, he was now no stranger to their methods of making war. He was sensible how ready they were to take all advantages, by surprise, stratagem, or otherwise, that the nature of their country afforded them. Caution and vigilance were not only necessary on his part, but, to prepare an army for such services, the dress, the arms, and discipline, should all be adapted to the nature of the country, in order to give the men every advantage, according to the Indian manner of attack. The eye should be habituated to perpetual watchfulness, the body should be clothed in green, the prevailing colour of the woods, that it may be difficult to distinguish it, and equipped in such light armour as is easiest managed in a thicket. The feet and legs should be fortified against prickly briers and bushes, and those men who have been accustomed to hunt in the woods, being quick-sighted, are best qualified for scouring the dark thickets, and for guards to the main body. Europeans, who are strangers to such things, are ill prepared for military services in America. Many brave officers have suffered by inattention to them, and being ignorant of the peculiar circumstances of the country, have fallen a sacrifice to their own rashness, or the numberless snares to which they are exposed in it.

On the 27th of May, 1761, Colonel Grant arrived at fort Prince George, and Attakullakulla, having got information that he was advancing against his nation with a formidable army, hastened to his camp, to signify his earnest desire of peace. He told the colonel that he always had been, and ever would continue to be, a firm friend to the English; that the outrages of his countrymen covered him with shame, and filled his heart with grief; yet nevertheless he would gladly interpose in their behalf, in order to bring about an accommodation. Often, he said, had he been called an old woman by the mad young men of his nation, who delighted in war and despised his counsels. Often had he endeavoured to get the hatchet buried, and the former good correspondence with the Carolineans established. Now he was determined to set out for the Cherokee towns, to persuade them to consult their safety, and speedily agree to terms of peace, and again and again begged the Colonel to proceed no farther until he returned.

Colonel Grant, however, gave him no encouragement to expect that his request could be granted; but, on the 7th of June, began his march from fort Prince George, carrying with him provisions to the army for thirty days. A party of ninety Indians, and thirty woodmen painted like Indians, under the command of Captain Quintine Kennedy, had orders to march in front and scour the woods. After them the light infantry and about fifty rangers, consisting in all of about two hundred men, followed, by whose vigilance and activity the commander imagined that the main body of the army might be kept tolerably quiet and secure. For three days he made forced marches, in order to get over two narrow and dangerous defiles, which he accomplished without a shot from the enemy, but which might have cost him dear, had they been properly guarded and warmly disputed. On the day following he found suspicious ground on all hands, and therefore orders were given for the first time to load and prepare for action, and the guards to march slowly forward, doubling their vigilance and circumspec-

tion. As they frequently spied Indians around them, all were convinced that they should that day have an engagement. At length, having advanced near to the place where Colonel Montgomery was attacked the year before, the Indian allies in the van-guard, about eight in the morning, observed a large body of Cherokees posted upon a hill on the right flank of the army, and gave the alarm. Immediately the savages, rushing down, began to fire on the advanced guard, which being supported, the enemy were repulsed, and recovered their heights. Under this hill the line was obliged to march a considerable way. On the left there was a river, from the opposite banks of which a large party of Indians fired briskly on the troops as they advanced. Colonel Grant ordered a party to march up the hill and drive the enemy from the heights, while the line faced about and gave their whole charge to the Indians that annoyed them from the side of the river. The engagement became general, and the savages seemed determined obstinately to dispute the lower grounds, while those on the hill were dislodged only to return with redoubled ardour to the charge. The situation of the troops was in several respects deplorable; fatigued by a tedious march, in rainy weather, surrounded with woods, so that they could not discern the enemy, galled by the scattered fire of savages, who when pressed always kept aloof, but rallied again and again, and returned to the ground. No sooner did the army gain an advantage over them in one quarter, than they appeared in another. While the attention of the commander was occupied in driving the enemy from their lurking-place on the river's side, the rear was attacked, and so vigorous an effort made for the flour and cattle, that he was obliged to order a party back to the relief of the rear-guard. From eight o'clock in the morning until eleven the savages continued to keep up an irregular and incessant fire, sometimes from one place and sometimes from another, while the woods resounded with hideous shouts and yells, to intimidate the troops. At length the Cherokees gave way,

and, being pursued for some time, popping shots continued till two o'clock, when they disappeared. What loss the enemy sustained in this action we have not been able to learn, but of Colonel Grant's army there were between fifty and sixty men killed and wounded; and it is probable the loss of the savages could not be much greater, and perhaps not so great, owing to their manner of fighting. Orders were given not to bury the slain, but to sink them in the river, to prevent their being dug up from their graves and scalped. To provide horses for those that were wounded, several bags of flour were thrown into the river. After which the army proceeded to Etchoe, a pretty large Indian town, which they reached about midnight, and next day reduced to ashes. Every other town in the middle settlements, fourteen in number, shared the same fate. Their magazines and corn fields were likewise destroyed, and those miserable savages, with their families, were driven to seek for shelter and provisions among the barren mountains.

It would be no easy matter to describe the various hardships which this little army endured in the wilderness, from heat, thirst, watching, danger and fatigue. Thirty days did Colonel Grant continue in the heart of the Cherokee territories, and, upon his return to fort Prince George, the feet and legs of many of his army were so mangled, and their strength and spirits so much exhausted, that they were utterly unable to march farther. He resolved therefore to encamp at that place for a while, both to refresh his men and wait the resolutions of the Cherokees, in consequence of the heavy chastisement which they had received. Besides the numberless advantages their country afforded for defence, it was supposed that some French officers had been among them, and given them all the assistance in their power. It is true the savages supported their attack for some hours with considerable spirit; but being driven from their advantageous posts and thickets they were wholly disconcerted, and though the repulse was far from being decisive,

yet after this engagement they returned no more to the charge, but remained the tame spectators of their towns in flames, and their country laid desolate.

Such engagements in Europe would be considered as trifling skirmishes, scarcely worthy of relation, but in America a great deal is often determined by them. It is no easy matter to describe the distress to which the savages were reduced by this severe correction. Even in time of peace they are destitute of that foresight, in a great measure, which provides for future events; but in time of war, when their villages are destroyed and their fields laid desolate, they are reduced to extreme want. Being driven to the barren mountains, the hunters furnished with ammunition might indeed make some small provision for themselves, but women, children, and old men, must perish, being deprived of the means of subsistence.

A few days after Colonel Grant's arrival at fort Prince George, Attakullakulla, attended by several chieftains came to his camp, and expressed a desire of peace. Severely had they suffered for breaking their alliance with Britain, and giving ear to the deceitful promises of France. Convinced at last of the weakness and perfidy of the French, who were neither able to assist them in time of war, nor supply their wants in time of peace, they resolved to renounce all connexion with them for ever. Accordingly terms of peace were drawn up and proposed, which were no less honourable to Colonel Grant than advantageous to the province. The different articles being read and interpreted, Attakullakulla agreed to them all excepting one, by which it was demanded, that four Cherokee Indians be delivered up to Colonel Grant at fort Prince George, to be put to death in the front of his camp; or four green scalps be brought to him in the space of twelve nights. The warrior having no authority from his nation, declared he could not agree to this article, and therefore the colonel sent him to Charlestown, to see whether the lieutenant governor would consent to mitigate the rigour of it.

Accordingly Attakullakulla and the other chieftains, being furnished with a safeguard, set out for Charlestown to hold a conference with Mr. Bull, who, on their arrival, called a council to meet at Ashley Ferry, and then spoke to the following effect. "Attakullakulla, I am glad to see you, and as I have always heard of your good behaviour, that you have been a good friend to the English, I take you by the hand, and not only you but all those with you also, as a pledge for their security whilst under my protection. Colonel Grant acquaints me that you have applied for peace; now that you are come, I have met with my beloved men to hear what you have to say, and my ears are open for that purpose." Then a fire was kindled the pipe of peace was lighted, and all smoked together for some time in great silence and solemnity.

Then Attakullakulla arose, and addressed the Lieutenant Governor and council to the following effect. "It is a great while since I last saw your honour; now I am glad to see you, and all the beloved men present—I am come to you as a messenger from the whole nation—I have now seen you, smoked with you, and hope we shall live together as brothers. —When I came to Keowee, Colonel Grant sent me to you —You live at the water side, and are in light—We are in darkness, but hope all will be yet clear with us.—I have been constantly going about doing good, and though I am tired, yet I am come to see what can be done for my people, who are in great distress." Here he produced the strings of wampum he had received from the different towns, denoting their earnest desire of peace; and then added, "As to what has happened, I believe it has been ordered by our Father above.—We are of a different colour from the white people—They are superior to us—But one God is father of all, and we hope what is past will be forgotten.—God Almighty made all people—There is not a day but some are coming into, and others are going out of, the world.—The great king told me the path should never be crooked, but open for every one to pass and repass.—As we all live in

one land, I hope we shall all live as one people." After which peace was formally ratified and confirmed by both parties, and their former friendship being renewed, all hoped that it would last as long as the sun shall shine and the rivers run.

Thus ended the Cherokee war, which was among the last humbling strokes given to the expiring power of France in North America, and Colonel Grant returned to Charlestown to wait further orders. But no sooner was peace concluded, and the province secured against external enemies, than an unhappy difference broke out between the two provincial commanders of the regular and provincial forces. Colonel Grant, a native of Scotland, was naturally of a high spirit, to which he added that pride of rank which he held among those British soldiers who had carried their arms triumphant through the continent. During this expedition it is probable that he scorned to ask the advice of a provincial officer, whom he deemed an improper judge of military operations, and claimed the chief glory of having restored peace to the province. Colonel Middleton was equally warm and proud, and considering such neglect as an affront, resented it, and while some reflections were cast upon the provincial troops, being the chief in command, he thought himself bound to stand forth as a champion for the honour of the province. This ill-humour, which appeared between the officers on their return to Charlestown, was encouraged and fomented by persons delighting in broils, who, by malicious surmises and false reports, helped to widen the difference. The dispute became serious, and was carried on for some time in the public papers by mutual charges of misconduct, and at length terminated in a duel. Mr. Middleton called out Colonel Grant to the single combat, after they had both given the best proof of their courage against the common enemy. The duel, however, happily terminated without bloodshed, and not a little to the credit of the Scots officer, though his antagonist showed no less spirit in the field of honour, falsely so called, than in defence

of his country. The citizens of Charlestown seemed interested in the dispute, and each spoke of the conduct of the two officers as they were differently affected. Indeed, however much we may applaud the brave man who is first in the field in defence of his country, with justice we withhold our praises from him that is first at the single combat with a private friend. Colonel Grant, with great reason, considered such treatment, after having brought the enemies of the colony to the most advantageous terms of peace, as a base recompense for his services. From this period a party-spirit appeared in Carolina. All the malicious aspersions and inflammatory accusations against the inhabitants of North Britain, which were at this time wantonly and wickedly published in England, were greedily swallowed by one party in the province, and industriously propagated. Prejudices were contracted, cherished, and unhappily gained ground among the people. Terms of reproach and abuse were collected from those factious publications in London, and poured indiscriminately upon all the natives of Scotland, who were by no means backward in retorting the abuse. In a growing province, where the utmost harmony and liberality of sentiment ought to have been cherished by all, as the most certain means of promoting the public strength and prosperity, such a party-spirit was attended, as might have been expected, with the most pernicious consequence.

I have already observed, that the province is subject to whirlwinds, especially among the hills in the back country; but this year one of those, which was indeed the most violent and dreadful that had ever been known, passed Charlestown in the month of May. It appeared at first to the west of the town, like a large column of smoke, approaching fast in an irregular direction. The vapour of which it was composed, resembled clouds rolling one over another in violent tumult and agitation, assuming at one time a dark, at another a bright flaming colour. Its motion was exceedingly swift and crooked. As it approached, the inhabitants were alarmed with an uncommon sound, like the continual roaring

of distant thunder, or the noise made by a stormy sea beating upon the shore, which brought numbers of people to witness the dreadful phenomenon. While it passed down Ashley river, such was its incredible velocity and force, that it ploughed the waters to the bottom, and laid the channel bare. The town narrowly and providentially escaped, but it threatened destruction to a fleet consisting of no less than forty sail of loaded ships, lying at anchor in Rebellion road, about four miles below the town, and waiting a fair wind to sail for England. When it reached the fleet, five vessels were sunk in an instant by it, and his Majesty's ship, the Dolphin, with eleven others, were dismasted. Such was the situation of the fleet, and so rapid was the motion of the whirlwind, that though the seamen observed it approaching, it was impossible to provide against it. In its oblique course, it struck only a part of the fleet, and the damage, though computed at £20,000 sterling, was by no means so great as might have been expected. Nor were many lives lost, for the channel of the river not being very deep, while the ships sat down in the mud and were covered by the waves, the sailors saved themselves by running up the shrouds. The whirlwind passed the town a little before three o'clock, and before four, the sky was so clear and serene, that we could scarcely have believed such a dreadful scene had been exhibited, had it not left many striking proofs behind it. Its route was not only marked in the woods, having levelled the loftiest trees, or swept them away before it like chaff, but its effects were visible in the fleet, by the number of vessels sunk and dismasted.

It has been also remarked, that the province is subject to violent storms of lightning and thunder throughout the year; but from the end of April until October they are very frequent and terrible. There are few nights during the summer in which lightning is not visible in some part of the horizon. Sometimes indeed those storms are of short duration, particularly when they come attended with brisk gales of wind; but when that is not the case, they will often last for four

or five hours. While the clouds are gathering, it is surprising how quickly the atmosphere, which was formerly serene, will be coverd with darkness. To the inhabitants, accustomed to view such appearances, the thunder-shower is rather welcome than alarming, as it cools the air and earth, and enables them to live comfortably during the remainder of the day; but to every stranger it is exceedingly grand and awful. As the flashes of lightning from the clouds commonly strike the highest objects, and the whole country is covered with woods, the fury of the storm for the most part falls upon them, and its amazing effects are visible from the vast number of blasted trees every where appearing throughout the forest. The country being as yet but thinly peopled, the inhabitants do not suffer so severely as might be expected, considering the violence of these storms; yet few years pass without some accidents from lightning. I never knew more than five houses in the town, but others have observed nine, two churches and five ships struck with lightning during one thunder-shower. Such storms often occasion considerable damage, particularly to the ships in the harbour; and sometimes they are attended with showers of hail, or rather solid pieces of ice, which fall with such force as to beat down the corn in the fields, to break glass windows and occasion danger to children exposed to them. But since the inhabitants have found out the method of erecting iron rods on their houses, less damage has been done to them, and fewer lives have been lost by lightning in this province.

The climate of Georgia, like that of Carolina, is more mild and pleasant in the inland than maritime parts. Governor Ellis has left us the following account of the heat of the summer at Savanna. In the 7th of July, while he was writing in his piazza, which was open at each end, he says the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 102 in the shade. Twice had it risen to that height during the summer, several times to 100 and for many days together to 98; and in the night did not sink below 89. He thought it highly

probable, that the inhabitants of Savanna breathed a hotter air than any other people upon earth. The town being situated on a sandy eminence, the reflection from the dry sand, when there is little or no agitation in the air, greatly increases the heat; for by walking a hundred yards from his house upon the sand, under his umbrella, with the thermometer suspended by a thread to the height of his nostrils, the mercury rose to 105. The same thermometer he had with him in the equatorial parts of Africa, in Jamaica, and in the Leeward Islands; yet by his journals he found that it had never in any of these places risen so high. Its general station was between 79 and 86. He acknowledges, however, that he felt those degrees of heat in a moist air more disagreeable than at Savanna, when the thermometer stood at 81 in his cellar, at 102 in the story above it, and in the upper story of his house at 105. On the 10th of December the mercury was up at 86, on the 11th down as low as 38, on the same instrument. Such sudden and violent changes, especially when they happen frequently, must make havoc of the human constitution; yet he asserts that few people die at Savanna out of the ordinary course, though many were working in the open air, exposed to the sun during this extreme heat.—As this governor was a man of sense and erudition, and no doubt made his observations with great accuracy, we shall not presume to call in question the facts he relates; but we must say, we never saw the mercury rise so high in the shade at Charlestown, and believe it very seldom happens to do so in Georgia. We may add, that such is the situation of Savanna, surrounded with low and marshy lands, and so sudden and great are the changes in the weather there, as well as in Carolina, that the maritime parts of both provinces must be ranked among the most unhealthy climates in the world.

CHAPTER XI.

THE peace of Paris, though condemned by many in England as inadequate to the amazing success that attended the British arms during the bloody war, and below the expectation of the British nation unquestionably placed America in the most advantageous situation. As the flames of war first kindled in that continent, by a contest about the limits of the British and French territories, to prevent all disputes of this kind for the future was made one of the first objects of attention in framing a treaty of peace. By the seventh article of this treaty it was agreed, "That, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic majesty and those of his most Christian majesty in that part of the world should be fixed irrevocably, by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of the river and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea." By the twentieth article, "His Catholic majesty ceded and guarantied in full right to his Britannic majesty, Florida, with fort Augustine and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possessed on the continent of North America to the east or south-east of the river Mississippi, and in general every thing depending on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholic king and the crown of Spain have had till now over the said countries, lands, places, and other

inhabitants." By these articles the southern provinces were rendered perfectly secure, and, considering the nature of the country, no frontiers could be more distinctly defined.

But as the French colonies in the northern district had been the chief seat of war, the conquest of which had occasioned such an immense waste of blood and treasure to Britain, it was also judged proper to guard against the return of any danger on that side. Experience had shown the nation, that while France possesses a single strong-hold on that continent, the British subjects could never enjoy perfect repose, but must be in danger of being again plunged into those calamities from which they had been with so much difficulty delivered. Therefore it was determined to remove this ambitious and enterprising enemy entirely from the neighbourhood of these colonies, and secure them beyond a possibility of future molestation. Accordingly, by the fourth article of the treaty, "His most Christian majesty renounced all pretensions which he had heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts, and guarantied the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the king of Great Britain; as also Canada, with all its dependencies; Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and every thing that depends on these countries, islands, lands, places and coasts, and their inhabitants; so that the most Christian king ceded and made over the whole to the said king and crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from said cession and guaranty under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned; reserving only the island of New Orleans, and liberty of fishing in the gulf of St. Lawrence, which was granted, upon condition that the subjects of France do not execute the said fishery but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent as those of the islands situated in the gulf of St. Lawrence."

We do not pretend to pass any judgment on the value of

these conquests in America, which were preferred to those of the West-India islands at the peace. By giving up a little of the sugar trade, it was thought the nation lost only a luxury, and could be sufficiently supplied with all the sugar and rum she wanted from the islands which she possessed before the war; and, therefore, the precious conquests in the West Indies, were sacrificed to the security of America. The vast territory to the east and south east of the great river Mississippi, formed the British empire on the continent, which, for variety of climate, as well as of soil, was exceeded by no empire upon earth. As the trade of the mother country had uniformly increased with the population of her colonies, it was hoped, that by freeing them from all molestation, they must increase in a still more rapid manner than they had hitherto done, to the great advantage of Britain; for while the colonists had liberty to extend their culture to the remotest desert, the trade of the mother country would be increased, her debt diminished, and, at the same time, the demand for manufactures would be so great, that all the hands she employed would scarcely be able to furnish the supply. These were thought to be the probable consequences which would flow from the security of our American colonies at the peace.

With respect to the new acquisitions, great pains were taken to acquire an exact knowledge of them, not only to establish proper regulations, but also to render them as useful and flourishing as possible. They were divided into three separate independent governments, which were given to officers who had distinguished themselves during the war. The government of East Florida was bounded to the westward by the Gulf of Mexico and the river Apalachicola; to the north by a line drawn from that part of the above mentioned river, where the Catabouchee and Flint rivers meet, to the source of St. Mary's river, and, by the course of the same river, to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the east and south by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Florida, including all islands within six leagues of the sea coast. The government

of West Florida was bounded to the southward by the Gulf of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the sea coast, from the river Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the westward by the said lake, the lake Maurepas, and the river Mississippi; to the north by a line drawn due east from that part of the river Mississippi which lies in thirty-one degrees of north latitude, to the river Apalachicola, or Catabouchee; and to the east by the said river. All the lands lying between the rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary's were annexed to the province of Georgia.

The possession of these two provinces of East and West Florida, though of themselves little better than an immense waste, was of great importance to the neighbouring provinces of Georgia and Carolina. It robbed the Spaniards of a strong-hold from which they could send out an armed force and harass these provinces, and of an easy avenue through which they had often invaded them. It removed troublesome neighbours out of their way, who had often instigated the savages against them, and made Augustine an asylum for fugitive slaves. It opened some convenient ports for trade with Britain and the West Indies, and for annoying French and Spanish ships coming through the Gulf of Florida, in case of any future rupture. It formed a strong frontier to the British dominions in that quarter, and furnished an immense tract of improveable land for reduced officers, soldiers, and others, to settle and cultivate.

To testify the high sense his majesty had of the conduct and bravery of his officers and soldiers during the late war, and to encourage the settlement of the colonies, tracts of land were offered them as the rewards of their services. Orders were given to the governors on the continent, to grant, without fee or reward, five thousand acres to every field officer who had served in America, three thousand to every captain, two thousand to every subaltern, two hundred to every non-commissioned officer, and fifty to every private man; free of quit-rents for ten years, but subject, at the expiration of that term, to the same moderate quit-rents as

the lands in the other provinces, and to the same conditions of cultivation and improvement. In the new colonies, for the encouragement of the people, they were to be allowed civil establishments, similar to those of the other royal governments on the continent, so soon as their circumstances would admit, and the same provision was made for the security of their lives, liberties, and properties under the new as under the old governments.

No province on the continent felt the happy effects of this public security sooner than the province of Georgia, which had long struggled under many difficulties, arising from the want of credit from friends, and the frequent molestations of enemies. During the late war the government had been given to James Wright, who wanted neither wisdom to discern, nor resolution to pursue, the most effectual means for its improvement. While he proved a father to the people and governed the province with justice and equity, he discovered at the same time the excellence of its low lands and river swamps, by the proper management and diligent cultivation of which he acquired in a few years a plentiful fortune. His example and success gave vigour to industry, and promoted a spirit of emulation among the planters for improvement. The rich lands were sought for with that zeal, and cleared with that ardour, which the prospect of riches naturally inspired. The British merchants observing the province safe, and advancing to a hopeful and flourishing state, were no longer backward in extending credit to it, but supplied it with negroes, and goods of British manufacture, with equal freedom as the other provinces on that continent. The planters no sooner got the strength of Africa to assist them than they laboured with success, and the lands every year yielded greater and greater increase. The trade of the province kept pace with its progress in cultivation. The rich swamps attracted the attention not only of strangers, but even of the planters of Carolina, who had been accustomed to treat their poor neighbours with the utmost contempt, several of

whom sold their estates in that colony, and moved with their families and effects to Georgia. Many settlements were made by Carolineans about Sunbury, and upon the great river Alatamaha. The price of produce at Savanna arose as the quantity increased, a circumstance which contributed much to the improvement of the country. The planters situated on the opposite side of Savanna river found in the capital of Georgia a convenient and excellent market for their staple commodities. In short, from this period the rice, indigo, and naval stores of Georgia arrived at the markets in Europe in equal excellence and perfection, and, in proportion to its strength, in equal quantities with those of its more powerful and opulent neighbours in Carolina. To form a judgment of the progress of the colony, we need only attend to its exports. In the year 1763, the exports of Georgia consisted of 7500 barrels of rice, 9633 lbs. of indigo, 1250 bushels of Indian corn, which, together with deer and beaver skins, naval stores, provisions, timber, &c., amounted to no more than £27,021 sterling; but afterward the colony thrived and increased in a manner so rapid, that, in the year 1773, it exported staple commodities to the value of £121,677 sterling.

No less favourable and happy were the blessings of peace and security to their neighbours of Carolina; for never did any country flourish and prosper in a more astonishing degree than this province has done since the conclusion of the late war. The government had been given to Thomas Boone, who had a good talent for business, and both knowledge and ability equal to the important trust. The French and Spaniards being removed out of the way, the progress of the colony in improvement was no more retarded by any molestation from them. The assembly appropriated a large fund for bounties to foreign Protestants, and such industrious poor people of Britain and Ireland as should resort to the province within three years, and settle on the inland parts. Two townships, each containing 48,000 acres, were laid out; one on the river Savanna, called Mecklenburgh, and

the other on the waters of Santee at Long Canes, called Londonderry; to be divided among emigrants, allowing one hundred acres for every man, and fifty for every woman and child, that should come and settle in the back woods. The face of the country in those interior parts is variable and beautiful, and being composed of hills and valleys, rocks and rivers, there is not that stagnation in the air, which is so exceedingly hurtful to the human constitution in the flat marshy parts of the province. The hills occasion an agitation in the atmosphere, and by collecting the air in streams, these run along the earth in pleasant breezes, and mitigate the rigour of the hot season. The climate in those inland parts is not only more mild and wholesome, but the soil, particularly in the valleys, which are covered with lofty trees and luxuriant bushes, is exceedingly fertile, and promised in the amplest manner to reward the industrious labourer. In consequence of this encouragement offered, it was hoped that multitudes would resort to Carolina, and settle those extensive and fruitful territories in the back woods, by which means the frontiers of the province would be strengthened, its produce increased, and its trade enlarged.

Not long after this, a remarkable affair happened in Germany, by which Carolina received a great acquisition. One Stumpel, who had been an officer in the king of Prussia's service, being reduced at the peace, applied to the British ministry for a tract of land in America, and, having got some encouragement, returned to Germany, where, by deceitful promises, he seduced between five and six hundred ignorant people from their native country. When these poor Palatines arrived in England, the officer finding himself unable to perform his promises, fled, leaving them in a strange land, without money, without friends, exposed in the open fields, and ready to perish through want. While they were in this starving condition, and knew no person to whom they could apply for relief, a humane clergyman, who came from the same country, took compassion on them, and published their deplorable case in the newspapers. He pleaded

for the mercy and protection of government to them, until an opportunity might offer of transporting them to some of the British colonies, where, he hoped, they would prove useful subjects, and, in time, give their benefactors ample proofs of their gratitude and affection. No sooner did their unhappy situation reach the ears of a great personage, than he immediately set an example to his subjects, which served both to warm their hearts and open their hands for the relief of their distressed fellow-creatures. A bounty of three hundred pounds was allowed them; tents were ordered from the Tower, for the accommodation of such as had paid their passage, and been permitted to come ashore; money was sent for the relief of those that were confined on board. The public spirited citizens of London, famous for acts of beneficence and charity, associated, and chose a committee on purpose to raise money for the relief of these poor Palatines. A physician, a surgeon, and man-midwife, generously undertook to attend the sick gratis. From different quarters, benefactions were sent to the committee, and, in a few days, those unfortunate strangers, from the depth of indigence and distress, were raised to comfortable circumstances. The committee, finding the money received more than sufficient to relieve their present distress, applied to his majesty to know his royal pleasure with respect to the future disposal of the German Protestants. His majesty, sensible that his colony of South Carolina had not its proportion of white inhabitants, and having expressed a particular attachment to it, signified his desire of transporting them to that province. Another motive for sending them to Carolina, was the bounty allowed to foreign Protestants by the provincial assembly, so that when their source of relief from England should be exhausted, another would open after their arrival in that province, which would help them to surmount the difficulties attending the first state of cultivation.

Accordingly, preparations were made for sending the Germans to South Carolina. When the news was communicated to them they rejoiced, not only because they were to go

to one of the most fertile and flourishing provinces on the continent, but also because many of them had friends and countrymen before them. Two ships, of two hundred tons each, were provided for their accommodation, and provisions of all kinds laid in for the voyage. A hundred and fifty stand of arms were ordered from the Tower, and given them by his majesty for their defence, after their arrival in America; all of which deserve to be recorded for the honour of the British nation, which has, at different times, set before the world many noble examples of benevolence. Every thing being ready for their embarkation, the Palatines broke up their camp in the fields, behind White Chapel, and proceeded to the ships, attended by several of their benefactors; of whom they took their leave with songs of praise to God in their mouths, and tears of gratitude in their eyes.

In the month of April, 1764, they arrived at Charlestown, and presented a letter from the lords commissioners for trade and plantations to Governer Boone, acquainting him that his majesty had been pleased to take the poor Palatines under his royal care and protection, and as many of them were versed in the culture of silks and vines, had ordered that a settlement be provided for them in Carolina, in a situation most proper for these purposes. Though their settlement met with some obstructions from a dispute subsisting at that time between the governor and assembly about certain privileges of the house; yet the latter could not help considering themselves as laid under the strongest obligations to make provision for so many useful settlers. Accordingly, in imitation of the noble example set before them in London, they voted five hundred pounds sterling to be distributed among the Palatines, according to the directions of the lieutenant-governor, and their necessities. That they might be settled in a body, one of the two townships, called Londonderry, was allotted for them, and divided in the most equitable manner into small tracts, for the accommodation of each family. Captain Calhoun, with a detachment of the rangers, had orders to meet them by the way, and conduct

them to the place where their town was to be built, and all possible assistance was given towards promoting their speedy and comfortable settlement.

Besides foreign Protestants, several persons from England and Scotland resorted to Carolina after the peace. But of all other countries none has furnished the province with so many inhabitants as Ireland. In the northern counties of that kingdom the spirit of emigration seized the people to such a degree, that it threatened almost a total depopulation. Such multitudes of husbandmen, labourers and manufacturers flocked over the Atlantic, that the landlords began to be alarmed, and concert ways and means for preventing the growing evil. Scarce a ship sailed for any of the plantations that was not crowded with men, women, and children. But the bounty allowed new settlers in Carolina proved a great encouragement, and induced numbers of these people, notwithstanding the severity of the climate, to resort to that province. The merchants finding this bounty equivalent to the expenses of the passage, from avaricious motives persuaded the people to embark for Carolina, and often crammed such numbers of them into their ships that they were in danger of being stifled during the passage, and sometimes were landed in such a starved and sickly condition, that numbers of them died before they left Charlestown. Many causes may be assigned for this spirit of emigration that prevailed so much in Ireland: some, no doubt, emigrated from a natural restlessness of temper, and a desire of roving abroad, without any fixed object in view. Others were enticed over by flattering promises from their friends and relations, who had gone before them. But of all other causes of emigration oppression at home was the most powerful and prevalent. Most men have a natural fondness and partiality for their native country, and leave it with reluctance while they are able to earn a comfortable livelihood in it. That spot where they first drew the breath of life, that society in which they spent the gay season of youth, the religion, the manners and customs of those among whom they were educated, all con-

spire to affect the heart, and endear their native country to them. But poverty and oppression will break through every natural tie and endearment, and compel men to rove abroad in search of some asylum against domestic hardship. Hence it happened that many poor people forsook their native land, and preferred the burning sky and unwholesome climate of Carolina, to the temperate and mild air of their mother country. The success that attended some friends who had gone before them being also industriously published in Ireland, and with all the exaggerations of travellers, gave vigour to the spirit of adventure, and induced multitudes to follow their countrymen, and run all hazards abroad, rather than starve at home. Government winked at those emigrations, and every year brought fresh strength to Carolina, insomuch that the lands in Ireland were in danger of lying waste for want of labourers, and the manufactures of dwindling into nothing.

Nor were these the only sources from which Carolina, at this time, derived strength and an increase of population. For, notwithstanding the vast extent of territory which the provinces of Virginia and Pennsylvania contained, yet such was the nature of the country, that a scarcity of improvable lands began to be felt in these colonies, and poor people could not find spots in them unoccupied equal to their expectations. Most of the richest valleys in these more populous provinces lying to the east of the Alleghany mountains were either under patent or occupied, and, by the royal proclamation at the peace, no settlements were allowed to extend beyond the sources of the rivers which empty themselves into the Atlantic. In Carolina the case was different, for there large tracts of the best lands as yet lay waste, which proved a great temptation to the northern colonists to migrate to the south. Accordingly, about this time above a thousand families, with their effects, in the space of one year resorted to Carolina, driving their cattle, hogs, and horses over-land before them. Lands were allotted them on the frontiers,

and most of them being only entitled to small tracts, such as one, two, or three hundred acres, the back settlements by this means soon became the most populous parts of the province. The frontiers were not only strengthened and secured by new settlers, but the old ones on the maritime parts began also to stretch backward and spread their branches, in consequence of which the demand for lands in the interior parts every year increased. The governor and council met once a month for the purpose of granting lands and signing patents, and it is incredible what numbers of people attended those meetings in order to obtain them; so that, from the time in which America was secured by the peace, Carolina made rapid progress in population, wealth, and trade, which will farther appear when we come particularly to consider its advanced state and annual exports.

In proportion as the province increased in the number of white inhabitants, its danger from the savage tribes grew less alarming. But to prevent any molestation from Indians, and establish the peace of the colonies on the most lasting foundation, his majesty, by his royal proclamations after the peace, took care to fix the boundaries of their hunting lands, in as clear a manner as the nature of the country would admit. No settlements were allowed to extend any farther backward upon the Indian territories, than the sources of those great rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, and all British subjects who had settled beyond these limits were ordered to remove. In this restriction his majesty evidently made a distinction between the rights of sovereignty and those of property; having excluded his governors from all manner of jurisdiction over those lands which were not specified within the limits of their respective provinces. All private subjects were prohibited from purchasing lands from Indians; but if the latter should at any time be inclined to dispose of their property, it must for the future be done to the king, by the general consent of their nation, and at a public assembly held by British

governors for that purpose. All traders were obliged to take out licenses from their respective governors for carrying on commerce with Indian nations.

Such regulations were in many respects useful and necessary; for the French and Spaniards being excluded, it only remained to guard the provinces against the danger arising from Indians. And as they were liable to much abuse and oppression from private traders, it was thought necessary that the office of a superintendent should be continued for the southern as well as the northern district of America. Accordingly this office was given to Captain John Stuart, who was in every respect well qualified for the trust. Attakullakulla had signified to the governor and council, after the Cherokee war, that the province would receive no molestation from Indians were this officer appointed to reside among them, and to advise and direct them. The assembly had not only thanked him for his good conduct and great perseverance at fort Loudon, and rewarded him with fifteen hundred pounds currency, but also recommended him to the governor as a person worthy of preferment in the service of the province. After his commission arrived from the king, the Carolineans rejoiced, and promised themselves for the future great tranquillity and happiness. Plans of lenity were likewise adopted by government with respect to those Indian tribes, and every possible precaution was taken to guard them against oppression, and prevent any rupture with them. Experience had shown that rigorous measures, such as humbling them by force of arms, were not only very expensive and bloody, but disagreeable to a humane and generous nation, and seldom accompanied with any good effects. Such ill treatment rendered the savages cruel, suspicious, and distrustful, and prepared them for renewing hostilities, by keeping alive their ferocious and warlike spirit. Their extirpation, even though it could easily be completed, would be a cruel act, and all the while the growth and prosperity of the settlements would be much retarded by the attempt. Whereas,

by treating Indians with gentleness and humanity, it was thought they would by degrees lose their savage spirit, and become more harmless and civilized. It was hoped that by establishing a fair and free trade with them, their rude temper would in time be softened, their manners altered, and their wants increased; and instead of implacable enemies, ever bent on destruction, they might be rendered good allies, both useful and beneficial to the trade of the nation.

It has been remarked, that those Indians on the continent of America, who were at the time of its discovery a numerous and formidable people, have, since that period, been constantly decreasing, and melting away like snow upon the mountains. For this rapid depopulation, many reasons have been assigned. It is well known, that population every where keeps pace with the means of subsistence. Even vegetables spring and grow in proportion to the richness of the soil in which they are planted, and to the supplies they receive from the nourishing rains and dews of heaven; animals flourish or decay according as the means of subsistence abound or fail; and as all mankind partake of the nature of both, they also multiply or decrease as they are fed, or have provision in plenty, luxury excluded. The Indians being driven from their possessions near the sea as the settlements multiplied, were robbed of many necessaries of life, particularly of oysters, crabs, and fish, with which the maritime parts furnished them in great abundance, and on which they must have considerably subsisted, as is apparent from a view of their camps, still remaining near the sea-shore. The women are not only much disregarded and despised, but also naturally less prolific among rude than polished nations. The men being often abroad, at hunting or war, agriculture, which is the chief means of subsistence among a civilized people, is entirely neglected by them, and looked upon as an occupation worthy only of women or slaves. That abstinence and fatigue, which the men endure in their distant excursions, and that gluttony and voraciousness in

which they indulge themselves in the times of plenty, are equally hurtful to the constitution, and productive of diseases of different kinds. Now that their territories are circumscribed by narrower bounds, the means of subsistence derived even from game, is less plentiful. Indeed, scanty and limited are the provisions they raise by planting, even in the best seasons; but, in case of a failure of their crops, or of their fields being destroyed by enemies, they perish in numbers by famine. Their natural passion for war, the first European settlers soon discovered; and, therefore, turned the fury of one tribe against another, with a view to save themselves. When engaged in hostilities, they always fought, not so much to humble and conquer, as to exterminate and destroy. The British, the French, and Spanish nations, having planted colonies in their neighbourhood, a rivalship for power over them took place, and each nation having its allies among the savages, was zealous and indefatigable in instigating them against the allies of its neighbour. Hence a series of bloody and destructive wars has been carried on among these rude tribes, with all the rage and rancour of implacable enemies.

But famine and war, however destructive, were not the only causes of their rapid decay. The small-pox having broken out among them, proved exceedingly fatal, both on account of the contagious nature of the distemper, and their harsh and injudicious attempts to cure it by plunging themselves into cold rivers during the most violent stages of the disorder. The pestilence broke out among some nations, particularly among the Pemblicos in North Carolina, and almost swept away the whole tribe. The practice of entrapping them, which was encouraged by the first settlers in Carolina, and selling them for slaves to the West India planters, helped greatly to thin their nations. But, of all other causes, the introduction of spirituous liquors among them, for which they discovered an amazing fondness, has proved the most destructive. Excess and intemperance not only undermined their constitution, but also created many

quarrels, and subjected them to a numerous list of fatal diseases, to which in former times they were entire strangers. Besides, those Europeans engaged in commercial business with them, generally speaking, have been so far from reforming them, by examples of virtue and purity of manners, that they rather served to corrupt their morals, and render them more treacherous, distrustful, base, and debauched than they were before this intercourse commenced. In short, European avarice and ambition have not only debased the original nature and stern virtue of that savage race, so that those few Indians that now remain have lost in a great measure their primitive character; but European vice and European diseases, the consequences of vice, have exterminated this people, insomuch that many nations formerly populous are totally extinct, and their names entirely forgotten.

The principal tribes around Carolina that now remain are, the Cherokees, the Catabaws, the Creeks, the Chickesaws, and Choctaws, and a few others that scarcely deserve to be mentioned. In 1765 the Cherokees, who inhabit the mountains to the north of Charlestown, could scarcely bring two thousand men to the field. The Catabaws have fifteen miles square allotted them for hunting lands, about two hundred miles north of Charlestown, with British settlements all around them; but they are so much reduced by a long war with the Five Nations, that they could not muster one hundred and fifty warriors. The Creeks inhabit a fine country on the south-west, between four and five hundred miles distant from Charlestown, and the number of both the Upper and Lower nations does not exceed two thousand gun-men. The Chickesaw towns lie about six hundred miles due west from Charlestown, but the nation cannot send three hundred warriors to the field, owing to the incessant wars which they have carried on against the French, by which their number has been greatly diminished. The Choctaws are at least seven hundred miles west-south-west from Charlestown, and have between three and four thousand gun-men; and as their settlements border on West

Florida, the greatest part of them till the late peace remained allies of France. But as these artful and insinuating rivals were removed out of the way, and the British government had adopted prudent plans of civilizing and managing those barbarous nations, the colonies for the future were in a great measure freed from all apprehensions of danger from them. I shall therefore conclude my observations respecting Indians with a speech of Mr. Stuart the superintendent, delivered at a general congress held in Mobile, at which Governor Johnstone and many British officers and soldiers attended. For as he was so well acquainted with the humours, tempers and characters of these tribes, this speech, in which is exhibited a good specimen of the language and manner proper for addressing barbarous nations, may not be unworthy of the reader's attention.

"Friends and Brothers, The Supreme Being who made the world and all its inhabitants, has been pleased to permit many great warriors of the British and Indian nations, to meet together in peace. The great king, who is the father of all white people in Great Britain and America, and defends them from danger, this day stretches out his arms to receive his red children into favour. He has been pleased to appoint me superintendent of the affairs of all Indian nations to the southward of Virginia. In his name I speak to you, and as the words you hear are his words, I hope you will listen to them with attention, and allow them to remain deeply impressed on your minds. They are calculated to promote not only your happiness, but that of your children and children's children for ever.

"When the great kings of Britain and France were at variance, the storms of war raged through this great forest, the Indian nations were divided, brothers against brothers, and your country was stained with blood. Malice and revenge went forth, all paths were made crooked, and your land was covered with darkness. Now that it has pleased the Author of life to restore the blessings of light and peace, it is our duty to make a proper use and improvement of

them. As fogs, gathered in the night, are dispersed by the rising sun, so words dictated by the rage of war, should be forgotten in the time of peace. The great king, full of wisdom and magnanimity, knows the frailty of his red children, and forgives their disobedience and rebellion. He extends his love to them all, even to those that lifted up the hatchet against him. To render them secure, he has resolved that the English and French shall be for ever separated by the great river Mississippi, and that all nations on this side of it, shall have him for their common father. He commands all strife and enmity between his white and red children to cease, and expects that the allies of Britain will take those Indians, the former allies of France, by the hand, and live together like brethren of one family. That his white and red children may be near one other, and mutually supply each other's wants, he has ordered some of his good subjects to come over the great waters, and live on the fruits of this land, which the Supreme Being made for the use of mankind in general. To open this friendly intercourse, I have invited you all to meet me at this place, and I rejoice that so many brothers are come to accept of the royal favour and protection.

"Ye Chickesaw warriors, I speak first to you, and I know your ears are open to my words. The great King regards you as children brought up in their father's house, who, from their infancy, have been dutiful and obedient, and by that means merited what you have always enjoyed, his particular care and affection. While darkness surrounded you on every side, he has defended you from all those snares and dangers to which you were exposed. Now the day is clear and unclouded. Your father continues to love you. The paths from your towns to all nations shall be made straight and plain, and nothing shall be permitted to hurt your feet. Your children shall rejoice and grow up in safety, and your houses shall be filled with abundance of corn and venison. I am come to tell you the good news, and to see that justice be done you in all commercial dealings.

"In the next place I speak to you, ye warriors of the great party of the Choctaw nation. You were like sons separated from their father, and removed at a great distance from his protection; but by persisting in obedience you were entitled to his love. The great king always acknowledged you, but now he receives you into his family, and offers you all the favours and privileges of sons. While you continue dutiful and obedient, the eye of your father shall be upon you, and his hand shall be open to relieve your wants. Under his care you shall enjoy all the blessings of peace and safety. You shall receive no injuries from friends, nor be exposed to any dangers from enemies. Your arms shall be kept bright, your hunting lands no man shall be permitted to take from you, and there shall be abundance of corn about your villages.

"But as for you, ye Choctaw warriors of the six villages, you were like children early lost. While you were wandering out of the way, without knowing your brothers you blindly struck them. You found a father, indeed, who adopted you, and you have long served him with zeal, and shown many proofs of your courage. You have received from your French father such poor rewards for your services as he could bestow; but all the while you remained under his care you were hungry, naked and miserable. He gave you many fair words and promises, and having long deceived you, at last is obliged to leave you in your present forlorn and wretched condition. Now your true father has found you, and this day stretches forth his arms to receive you under his protection. He has forgotten all your past offences. He knows your weakness, and forgives your errors. He knows your wants, and is disposed to relieve them. I have but one tongue, and always speak the truth; and as I bring you good news, I hope my words shall not be blown away by the wind. The great king is wise, generous and merciful, and I flatter myself with the hopes that you will never forget your obligations to his goodness.

"It is my duty to watch over Indians, and protect them

against all manner of danger and oppression. For this purpose my ears shall be always open to your complaints, and it shall be my study to redress your grievances. I must warn you to beware of all quarrels and outrages, by which you will certainly forfeit the royal favour, and plunge yourselves again into misery. I hope you will always observe my advice, and conduct yourselves accordingly, that I may be able to transmit good accounts of your behaviour to England. It is only by the permission of the great king that your wants can be supplied, and that traders can come into your villages with guns, powder, balls, knives, hatchets, flints, hoes, clothes and other necessaries. These things you cannot make for yourselves, and no other nation will be allowed to furnish you with them. Therefore the great king has a right to expect your gratitude and obedience, for all he requires is with a view to your own tranquillity and happiness.

"As you are all received into the family of the great king, it is expected that Indians will not only live in friendship and peace with white men, but also with one another. In imitation of his majesty's good example, you must forget all injuries and offences, and throw aside all national jealousies and antipathies. The king expects that the great chieftains, to whom he has given medals and gorgets, will consider them not merely as ornaments, but as emblems of the high offices they bear, and the great trust reposed in them. All presents made you are in consideration of the good services expected from you. Therefore, ye wise and great leaders, I expect you will use your authority like fathers, and restrain your young men from all acts of violence and injustice, and teach them that the only way to merit honour and preferment is to be just, honest and peaceable, and that disgrace and punishment will be the consequences of disorderly practices, such as robbing plantations, and beating or abusing white people.

"Ye warriors who have no commissions, I speak to you also in name of the king, and I hope you will reverence his

authority and love your brethren. Listen at all times to your wise rulers, and be careful to follow their advice and example. By their wisdom and justice they have arrived at a high pitch of preferment, and stand distinguished by great and small medals. If, like them, you wish to be great, like them you must first be good. You must respect them as children do their father, yielding submission to their authority, and obedience to their commands. Without the favour of your chiefs you will neither get your wants supplied nor reach the station of honour. An armourer will be sent into your nation to clean and repair your rifles, but he will have instructions to mend arms to none but such as shall be recommended by their chiefs, it being proper that such leaders should have it in their power to distinguish those that are peaceable and obedient from the obstinate and perverse.

"I am to inform you all, that I will send a beloved man into your towns, who will be vested with authority to hear and determine all differences between you and the traders, to deliver all messages from me to you, and all talks from you to me. And as he will come to promote your welfare and tranquillity, I hope you will receive him kindly, protect him against all insults, and assist him in the execution of his office.

"When the French governor took his leave of you, he advised you to look upon yourselves as the children of the king of Great Britain. The advice was good, I hope you will remember it for ever. The great king has warriors numerous as the trees of the forest, and stands in no need of your assistance; but he desires your friendship and alliance to render you happy. He loves peace and justice, but he will punish all murders and rebellion. Be careful, therefore, to keep your feet far from the crooked and bloody path. Shun all communication with Indian tribes who lift the hatchet against their white brethren. Their talks, their calaments, their belts of wampum, and their tobacco, are all poisonous. If you receive them into your towns, be assured you will be infected with their madness, and be in danger of rushing into

destruction. Be cautious, above all things, of permitting great quantities of rum to be brought into your villages. It poisons your body, enervates your mind, and, from respectable warriors, turns you into furious madmen, who treat friends and enemies alike. Mark those persons, whether they be white or red, that bring rum among you, for bad men, who violate the laws, and have nothing else in view but to cheat, and render you despicable and wretched.

"Lastly, I inform you that it is the king's order to all his governors and subjects, to treat Indians with justice and humanity, and to forbear all encroachments on the territories allotted for them. Accordingly, all individuals are prohibited from purchasing any of your lands; but as you know that your white brethren cannot feed you when you visit them unless you give them grounds to plant, it is expected that you will cede lands to the king for that purpose. But whenever you shall be pleased to surrender any of your territories to his majesty, it must be done for the future at a public meeting of your nation, when the governors of the provinces, or the superintendent shall be present, and obtain the consent of all your people. The boundaries of your hunting grounds will be accurately fixed, and no settlement permitted to be made upon them. As you may be assured that all treaties with you will be faithfully kept, so it is expected that you also will be careful strictly to observe them. I have now done, and I hope you will remember the words I have spoken. Time will soon discover to you the generosity, justice and goodness of the British nation. By the bounty of the king, and a well ordered trade with his subjects, your houses shall be filled with plenty, and your hearts with joy. You will see your men and women well clothed and fed, and your children growing up to honour you, and add strength to your nation; your peace and prosperity shall be established, and continue from generation to generation."

Having now endeavoured to give some account of the rise and progress of this colony for the first century after its settlement, or rather from the time the proprietors received

their second charter in 1665 to the year 1765, we shall add a general view of its present state and condition. I have purposely delayed speaking of several things, particularly of the temper, manners and character of the people, until this period, when they come more immediately under my own notice; and such observations as I have made shall now be submitted to the public view for the use of strangers, leaving all men acquainted with provincial affairs to judge for themselves, according to the different lights in which matters may have occurred to them.

With respect to the towns in Carolina, none of them, excepting one, merit the smallest notice. Beaufort, Purisburgh, Jacksonburgh, Dorchester, Camden, and Georgetown, are all inconsiderable villages, having in each no more than twenty, thirty, or, at most, forty dwelling houses. But Charlestown, the capital of the province, may be ranked with the first cities of British America, and yearly advances in size, riches and population. It is situated upon a neck of land at the confluence of Ashley and Cooper rivers, which are large and navigable, and wash at least two-third parts of the town. These rivers mingle their streams immediately below the town, and, running six or seven miles farther, empty themselves at Sullivan's island into the Atlantic Ocean. By means of such broad rivers the sea is laid open from east to south-east, and the town fanned by gentle breezes from the ocean, which are very refreshing to the inhabitants during the summer months. The tide flows a great way above the town, and occasions an agitation in the air which is also productive of salutary effects. So low and level is the ground upon which Charlestown is built, that the inhabitants are obliged to raise banks of earth, as barriers, to defend themselves against the higher floods of the sea. The streets from east to west extend from river to river, and, running in a straight line, not only open a beautiful prospect, but also afford excellent opportunities, by means of subterranean drains, for removing all nuisances, and keeping the town clean and healthy. These streets are

intersected by others, nearly at right angles, and throw the town into a number of squares, with dwelling houses on the front, and office houses and little gardens behind them. Some of the streets are broad, which in such a climate is a necessary and wise regulation, for where narrow lanes and alleys have been tolerated, they prove by their confined situation a fruitful nursery for diseases of different kinds. The town, which was at first entirely built of wood, as might be expected, has often suffered from fire; but such calamities, though they fell heavy on individuals, have given the inhabitants frequent opportunities of making considerable improvements in it. Now most houses are built of brick, three stories high, some of them elegant, and all neat habitations; within they are genteelly furnished, and without exposed as much as possible to the refreshing breezes from the sea. Many of them are indeed encumbered with balconies and piazzas, but these are found convenient and even necessary during the hot season, into which the inhabitants retreat for enjoying the benefit of fresh air, which is commonly occasioned, and always increased, by the flux and reflux of the sea. Almost every family have their pump-wells, but the water in them being at no great distance from the salt river, and filtered only through sand, is brackish, and commonly occasions severe griping and purging to every person not accustomed to it. The town consisted at this time of, at least, twelve hundred dwelling houses, and was in an advancing state. The public buildings are, an Exchange, a State-House, an Armoury, two churches for Episcopalians, one for Presbyterians, two for French and Dutch Protestants; to which may be added, meeting-houses for Anabaptists, Independents, Quakers and Jews. Upon the sides of the rivers wharfs are built, to which all ships that come over the bar may lie close; and having stores and ware-houses erected upon them, are exceedingly convenient for importing and exporting all kinds of merchandise.

The harbour is also tolerably well fortified, the king

having at different times presented the province with great guns for that purpose. Towards Cooper river the town is defended by a number of batteries, insomuch that no ships of an enemy can approach it without considerable hazard. Besides these, the passage up to it is secured by fort Johnson, built on James' Island, about two miles below the town. This fort stands in a commanding situation, within point-blank shot of the channel, through which every ship, in their way to and from Charlestown, must pass. The commander of fort Johnson is commissioned by the king, and has authority to stop every ship coming in until the master or mate shall make oath that there is no malignant distemper on board. It has barracks for fifty men; but, in case of emergency, it obtains assistance from the militia of the island. During the late Cherokee war a plan was also formed for fortifying the town towards the land, with a horn-work built of tappy, flanked with batteries and redoubts at proper distances, and extending from river to river; but, after having spent a great sum of money on this work, peace being restored, the design was dropped.

In 1765 the number of white inhabitants in Charlestown amounted to between five and six thousand, and the number of negroes to between seven and eight thousand. With respect to the number of white inhabitants in the province we cannot be certain, but we may form some conjecture from the militia roll; for as all male persons from sixteen to sixty are obliged by law to bear arms and muster in the regiments, and as the whole militia formed a body of between seven and eight thousand, reckoning the fifth person fit for military duty, the whole inhabitants in the province might amount to near forty thousand. But the number of negroes was not less than eighty or ninety thousand. As no exact register of the births and funerals has been kept at Charlestown for several years, we cannot ascertain the proportion between them. Formerly, when bills of mortality were annually printed, the common computation was, that, while no contagious disorder prevailed in town, one out of

thirty-five died yearly, or one out of each family in the space of seven years. However, the list of deaths is often increased by the sailors and transient persons that die in the town, and by malignant distempers imported into it. It is generally believed, that the number of births among the settled inhabitants exceeds that of funerals; but we shall affirm nothing with respect to this matter without better authority than common observation and conjecture.

With respect to temper and character, the inhabitants of Carolina differ little from those of Great Britain and Ireland; I mean, such as derived their origin from those islands, for the descendents of other nations still retain something of the complexion, manners and customs of those countries from whence they came. In stature, the natives of Carolina are about the middle size; for in Europe we meet with men both taller and shorter. They are, generally speaking, more forward and quick in growth than the natives of cold climates. Indeed we may say, there are no boys or girls in the province, for from childhood they are introduced into company, and assume the air and behaviour of men and women. Many of them have a happy and natural quickness of apprehension, especially in the common affairs of life, and manage business with ease and discretion; but want that steadiness, application and perseverance necessary to the highest improvements in the arts and sciences. Several natives who have had their education in Britain, have distinguished themselves by their knowledge in the laws and constitution of their country; but those who have been bred in the province, having their ideas confined to a narrower sphere, have as yet made little figure as men of genius or learning. Agriculture being more lucrative than any other employment, all who possess land and negroes apply their chief attention to the improvement of their fortune, regardless of the higher walks of science. They commonly marry early in life, and of course are involved in domestic cares and concerns before their minds have had time to ripen in knowledge and judgment. In the

progress of society they have not advanced beyond that period in which men are distinguished more by their external than internal accomplishments. Hence it happens, that beauty, figure, agility and strength form the principal distinctions among them, especially in the country. Among English people they are chiefly known by the number of their slaves, the value of their annual produce, or the extent of their landed estate. For the most part they are lively and gay, adapting their dress to the nature of the climate in which they live, and discover no small taste and neatness in their outward appearance. Their intercourse and communication with Britain being easy and frequent, all novelties in fashion, dress and ornament are quickly introduced; and even the spirit of luxury and extravagance, too common in England, was beginning to creep into Carolina. Almost every family kept their chaises for a single horse, and some of the principal planters of late years have imported fine horses and splendid carriages from Britain. They discover no bad taste for the polite arts, such as music, drawing, fencing and dancing; and it is acknowledged by all, but especially by strangers, that the ladies in the province considerably outshine the men. They are not only sensible, discreet and virtuous, but also adorned with most of those polite and elegant accomplishments becoming their sex. The Carolineans in general are affable and easy in their manners, and exceedingly kind and hospitable to all strangers. There are few old men or women to be found in the province, which is a sure sign of the unhealthiness of the climate. We cannot say that there are many in the country that arrive at their sixtieth year, and several at thirty bear the wrinkles, bald head and gray hairs of old age. As every person by diligence and application may earn a comfortable livelihood, there are few poor people in the province, except the idle or unfortunate. Nor is the number of rich people great; most of them being in what we call easy and independent circumstances. It has been remarked, that there are more persons possessed of between five and ten

thousand pounds sterling in the province, than are to be found any where among the same number of people. In respect of rank, all men regarded their neighbour as their equal, and a noble spirit of benevolence pervaded the society. In point of industry the town was like a bee-hive, and there were none that reaped not advantages more or less from the flourishing state of trade and commerce. Pride and ambition had not as yet crept into this community; but the province was fast advancing to that state of power and opulence, when some distinctions among men necessarily take place.

With respect to the manner of living in Charlestown, it is nearly the same as in England; and many circumstances concur to render it neither very difficult or expensive to furnish plentiful tables. They have tea from England, and coffee, chocolate, and sugar, from the West Indies, in plenty. Butter is good, especially at that season when the fields are cleared of rice, and the cows are admitted into them; and it is so plentiful, that they export a good deal of it to the Leeward Islands. The province produces some flour for bread; but it being of an inferior quality, the inhabitants chiefly make use of that imported from New York and Philadelphia. In the market, there is plenty of beef, pork, veal, poultry and venison, and a great variety of wild fowls and salt-water fish. The mutton, from the low lands, is not so good as that from the hills in the interior parts, but as the back country is now well settled, it is hoped that the market in time will be likewise well supplied with mutton from it. They have, also, a variety of the finest fruits and vegetables in their season. Their principal drink is punch, or grog, which is composed of rum, well diluted with water. With respect to wine, Madeira is not only best suited to the climate, in which it improves by heat and age, but, also, most commonly used by the people in general, though French, Spanish, and Portuguese wines, are likewise presented at the table of the most opulent citizens. Besides these, they have porter and beer from England, and cider and perry

from the northern colonies. Where rum is cheap, excess in the use of it will not be uncommon, especially among the lower class of people; but the gentlemen, in general, are sober, industrious, and temperate. In short, the people are not only blessed with plenty, but with a disposition to share it among friends and neighbours; and many will bear me witness, when I say, that travellers could scarcely go into any city where they could meet with a society of people more agreeable, intelligent, and hospitable, than that at Charlestown.

Though the arts and sciences had been long neglected, and have, as yet, made no great progress in the province, yet, of late years, they have met with great encouragement. The people in general stand not only much indebted to an ingenious bookseller, who introduced many of the most distinguished authors among them, but several of the most respectable citizens, also, united and formed a society for the promotion of literature, having obtained a charter of incorporation for that purpose. All the new publications in London, and many of the most valuable books, both ancient and modern, have been imported for the use of this society; the members of which were ambitious of proving themselves the worthy descendants of British ancestors, by transporting not only their inferior arts of industry and agriculture, but also their higher improvements in philosophy and jurisprudence. Their design was not confined to the present generation, but extended to posterity, having the institution of a college in view, so soon as the funds of the society should admit of it. Newspapers were also printed, for supplying the province with the freshest and most useful intelligence of all that passed in the political and commercial world.* For amusement, the inhabitants of Charlestown had not only books and public papers, but also assemblies, balls,

* The Carolina Gazette was first printed at Charleston, in the year 1732. See Thomas' History of Printing, in which much valuable information concerning the early literature of South Carolina is to be found.

concerts, and plays, which were attended by companies almost equally brilliant as those of any town in Europe of the same size.

Charlestown had its armory, magazine, and militia, and every citizen, like those of ancient Sparta, joined the military to the civil character. The officers of the militia are appointed by the governor, who commonly nominates such men from among the inhabitants, to command the rest as are most distinguished for their courage and capacity. All men of the military age being registered in the militia roll, each person knows the company to which he belongs, the captain who commands it, and is obliged to keep his arms in order, and to appear properly equipped in case of any alarm or other emergency. We cannot say that the militia in general made a good appearance, or seemed expert at the use of arms; but the companies of grenadiers, light infantry, and artillery, were extravagantly gay, and tolerably well disciplined. As most of the men were equally independent as their officers, that prompt obedience to orders, necessary in a regular army, could not be expected from them; but being conscious that union of strength was necessary to the common safety, on all emergencies they appeared under arms with alacrity and expedition. By the militia law, the merchants and tradesmen of the city were subjected to some temporary inconveniences and interruptions of business; but as agriculture was chiefly carried on by slaves, and nature brought the fruits of the earth to maturity, the planters in the country had abundance of time to spare for military exercises. Their rural life, and the constant use of arms, promoted a kind of martial spirit among them, and the great dangers to which they were always exposed, habituated them to face an enemy with resolution. Fortunately, a natural antipathy subsisted between Indians and negroes, and prevented the two from uniting and conspiring the destruction of the colony. Therefore, while Indians remained quiet and peaceable, it was not the interest of the province to have them removed at a great dis-

tance; for had they been driven over the Mississippi, or extirpated, their place would probably have been supplied by fugitive slaves, who, by taking shelter in the mountains, would have proved an enemy equally, if not more, cruel and formidable to Carolina than the Indians themselves; or, had the savage nations given encouragement to slaves to fly to them for liberty and protection, fatal must the consequences have been to the settlement.

Thus exposed to barbarians, the members of this little community knew that union of strength was not only requisite to the common safety, but both interest and duty naturally led them to establish societies with a particular view of raising funds for relieving each other's wants. Though every person was obliged by law to contribute, in proportion to his estate, for the relief of the poor of the province, yet, besides this, there were several societies formed and incorporated for the particular purpose of assisting such families belonging to them as might happen to be unfortunate in trade, or in any other way reduced to an indigent state. Among these, there is one called The South Carolina Society, which merits particular notice. At first, it consisted not of the most opulent citizens, though many of these afterward joined it, but of persons in moderate stations, who held it an essential duty to relieve one another in such a manner as their circumstances would admit; accordingly, they united, elected officers, and, by trifling weekly contributions, donations, and legacies, together with good management, in process of time, accumulated a considerable stock. A common seal was provided with the device of a hand planting a vine, and the motto *Posteritati*. The Heavens smile on humane and generous designs. Many observing the great usefulness of this society, petitioned for admission into it; and as its numbers increased its stock enlarged. In 1738, their capital amounted to no more than £213, 16s.; but, in 1776, it had arisen to a sum not less than £68,787: 10: 3, current money. All the while their works of charity have likewise been conspicuous and extensive. Many unfor-

tunate and sinking families have been supported by them in a decent and respectable manner. Many helplesss orphans have been educated, and prepared for being useful members of society. Several other societies in Charlestown have been founded upon the same plan, and on many occasions the inhabitants in general, (it may be mentioned to their honour,) have discovered a benevolent and charitable spirit, not only to poor people in the province, but also to unfortunate strangers.

The merchants in Carolina are a respectable body of men, industrious and indefatigable in business, free, open and generous in their manner of conducting it. The whole warehouses in Charlestown were like one common store, to which every trader had access for supplying his customers with those kinds of goods and manufactures which they wanted. The merchants of England, especially since the late peace, observing the colonies perfectly secure, and depending on the strength of the British navy for the protection of trade, vied with each other for customers in America, and stretched their credit to its utmost extent for supplying the provinces. Hence every one of them were well furnished with all kinds of merchandise. But as the staples of Carolina were valuable, and in much demand, credit was extended to that province almost without limitation, and vast multitudes of negroes, and goods of all kinds, were yearly sent to it. In proportion as the merchants of Charlestown received credit from England, they were enabled to extend it to the planters in the country, who purchased slaves with great eagerness, and enlarged their culture. Though the number of planters had of late years much increased, yet they bore no proportion to the vast extent of territory, and lands were still easily procured, either by patent or by purchase. According to the number of hands employed in labour, agriculture prospered and trade was enlarged. An uncommon circumstance also attended this rapid progress, which was favourable to the planting interest, and proved an additional incentive to industry. The price of staple commodities arose as the

quantity brought to market increased. In 1761 rice sold at forty shillings per barrel, and indigo at two shillings per lib.; but in 1771, in so flourishing a state was the commerce of this country, that rice brought at market three pounds ten shillings per barrel, and indigo three shillings per lib. At the same time the quantity increased so much, that the exports of Carolina amounted, upon an average of three years after the peace, to £395,666 13 4; but, in 1771, the exports in that year alone arose to a sum not less than £756,000 sterling. How great then must the imports have been, when the province, notwithstanding this amazing increase, still remained in debt to the mother country.

To this advanced state had Carolina arrived in point of improvement. Agriculture, beyond doubt, is of such importance to every country, that, next to public security and the distribution of justice and equity, it is the interest of every government to encourage it. Nothing could more manifestly promote industry and agriculture, than that fair and equitable division of lands among the people which took place in this province. Immense tracts of ground in possession of one man, without hands to cultivate and improve them, are only unprofitable deserts: but when lands are judiciously parcelled out among the people, industry is thereby encouraged, population increased, and trade promoted. The lands first yield abundance for the inhabitants, and then more than they can consume. When this is the case, the overplus can be spared for procuring foreign articles of exchange, and the province is thereby furnished with the conveniences and luxuries of another climate and country. Then the planter's views are turned to the advantages of trade, and the merchant's, in return, to the success of husbandry. From which time a mutual dependence subsists between them, and it is the interest of the one to encourage the other. For when the merchants receive nothing from the province, it is impossible they can afford to import any thing into it. Without cultivation commerce must always languish, being deprived of its chief supplies, the fruits of the earth. With-

out credit from the merchant there would have been little encouragement to emigrate to Carolina. A single arm could make little impression on the forest. A poor family, depending for support on the labour of one man, would have long remained in a starving condition, and scarcely ten of a hundred emigrants, obliged to work in such a climate, would have survived the tenth year after their arrival. To what causes then shall we ascribe the prosperity of the province? The answer is plain. Under the royal care the people, being favoured with every advantage resulting from public security, an indulgent government, abundance of land, large credit, liberty to labour and to reap the whole fruits of it, protection to trade, and an excellent market for every staple, laboured with success. These were powerful motives to emigrate, strong incentives to industry, and the principal causes of its rapid advances towards maturity. No colony that ever was planted can boast of greater advantages. Few have, in the space of an hundred years, improved and flourished in an equal degree.

Notwithstanding the favourable situation for agriculture in which the Carolineans stood, they remained slovenly husbandmen, and every stranger was astonished at the negligent manner in which all estates in the province were managed. Those planters who had arrived at easy or affluent circumstances employed overseers; and having little to do but to ride round their fields now and then, to see that their affairs were not neglected, or their slaves abused, indulge themselves in rural amusements, such as racing, mustering, hunting, fishing, or social entertainments. For the gun and dog, the country affords some game, such as small partridges, woodcocks, rabbits, &c., but few of the planters are fond of that kind of diversion. To chase the fox or the deer, is their favourite amusement, and they are forward and bold riders, and make their way through the woods and thickets with astonishing speed. The horses of the country, though hardy and serviceable animals, make little figure; and, therefore, to improve the breed, many

have been, of late years, imported from England. The planters being fond of fine horses, have been at great pains to raise them, so that they now have plenty of an excellent kind, both for the carriage and the turf.

In every plantation, great care is taken in making dams to preserve water, for overflowing the rice fields in summer, without which they will yield no crops. In a few years after this pond is made, the planters find it stocked with a variety of fishes; but, in what manner they breed, or whence they come, they cannot tell, and, therefore, leave that matter to philosophical inquirers to determine. Some think that the spawn of fishes is exhaled from the large lakes of fresh water in the continent, and being brought in thunder-clouds, falls with the drops of rain into these reservoirs of water. Others imagine, that it must have remained every where among the sand since that time the sea left these maritime parts of the continent. Others are of opinion, that young fish are brought by water-fowls, which are very numerous, from one pond to another, and there dropped, by which means the new-made pools receive their supply. But, be the cause what it will, the effect is visible and notorious all over the country. When the ponds are stocked with fishes, it becomes an agreeable amusement to catch them, by hauling a seine through the pool. Parties of pleasure are formed for this purpose, so that the young planters, like gentlemen of fortune, being often abroad at these rural sports and social entertainments, their domestic affairs by such means are much neglected, and their plantations carelessly managed.

But, even among the most diligent and attentive planters, we see not that nice arrangement and order in their fields observable in most places of Europe, probably owing to the plenty and cheapness of land. In every country where landed estates are easily procured, they engross not that care and attention requisite for making them yield the greatest returns. The freeholds in Carolina are not only easily obtained, by patent or purchase, but, also, all alienable at pleasure; so that few of the present generation of planters

regulate their system of husbandry upon any established principles or plans, much less with any views to posterity. In no country, have the finest improvements been found in the first ages of cultivation. This remains for a future day, and when lands shall be more scarce and valuable, and the country better peopled, then, it is probable, Carolina will discover, like other countries, the effects of the nice art and careful management of the husbandman.

At present the common method of cultivation is as follows: After the planter has obtained his tract of land, and built a house upon it, he then begins to clear his field of that load of wood with which the land is covered. Nature points out to him where to begin his labours; for the soil, however various, is every where easily distinguished, by the different kinds of trees which grow upon it. Having cleared his field, he next surrounds it with a wooden fence, to exclude all hogs, sheep, and cattle from it. This field he plants with rice or indigo, year after year, until the lands are exhausted, or yield not a crop sufficient to answer his expectations. Then it is forsaken, and a fresh spot of land is cleared and planted, which is also treated in like manner, and in succession forsaken and neglected. Although there are vast numbers of cattle bred in the province, yet no manure is provided for improving the soil. No trials of a different grain are made. No grass seeds are sown in the old fields for enriching the pastures, so that either shrubs and bushes again spring up in them, or they are overgrown with a kind of coarse grass, grateful or nourishing to no animal. Like farmers often moving from place to place, the principal study with the planters is the art of making the largest profit for the present time, and if this end is obtained, it gives them little concern how much the land may be exhausted. The emulation that takes place among the present generation, is not who shall put his estate in the most beautiful order, who shall manage it with most skill and judgment for posterity, but who shall bring the largest crop to the market. Let their children provide for them-

selves. They will endeavour to leave them plenty of labourers, and they know they can easily obtain abundance of lands; vain and absurd, therefore, would it be to bestow much pains and time in preparing this or that landed estate for them, and laying it out in fine order, which they are certain will be deserted so soon as the lands are exhausted.

Such is the present method of carrying on agriculture in Carolina, and it may do for some time, but every one must clearly see that it will be productive of bad effects. The richness of the soil, and the vast quantity of lands, have deceived many, even those men who had been bred farmers in England, and made them turn out as careless husbandmen as the natives themselves. Wherever you go in this province, you may discover the ignorance of the people with respect to agriculture, and the small degree of perfection to which they have yet attained in this useful art. This will not be the case much longer, for lands will become scarce, and time and experience, by unfolding the nature of the soil, and discovering to the planters their errors, will teach them, as circumstances change, to alter also their present rules, and careless manner of cultivation. In every country improvements are gradual and progressive. In such a province as Carolina, where the lands are good, new staples will be introduced, new sources of wealth will open; and, if we may judge from what is past, we may conclude, that, if no misunderstandings or quarrels shall interrupt its future progress, it certainly promises to be one of the most flourishing settlements in the world. We have seen that its exports are already very great, even while the lands are negligently cultivated and ill managed; but how much greater will they be when the art of agriculture shall have arrived at the same degree of perfection in that province as in England.

Such, at this period, was the happy situation of the people and province of South Carolina; safe under the royal care and protection, and advancing to an opulent state by the unlimited credit and great indulgence granted by

Britain. However, if we proceed a little farther, we shall see the face of things gradually changing. We shall behold the mother country, as the wealth of her colonies increased, attempting some alteration in their political and commercial system; and the different provinces, infected with pride and ambition, aspiring after independence. Let us take a slight view of the causes of that unhappy quarrel, which at this time began between them, and afterward proceeded to such a degree of violence as to threaten a total dissolution of all political union and commercial intercourse.

It might have been expected, that those colonies would not soon forget their obligations to the mother country, by which they had been so long cherished and defended. As all the colonies were in themselves so many independent societies, and as in every state protection and allegiance are reciprocal and inseparable duties, one would have thought that subjects would yield obedience to the laws, and submission to the authority of that government under which they claimed protection. Such was the constitution of the provinces, that each, by its own legislature, could only regulate the internal police within the bounds of its territory. Thus far, and no farther, did its authority extend. Not one of them could either make or execute regulations binding upon another. They had no common council, empowered by the constitution, to act for and to bind all, though, perhaps, good policy now required the establishment of such a council, for the purpose of raising a revenue from them. Every member of the vast empire might perceive, that some common tax, regularly and impartially imposed, in proportion to the strength of each division, was necessary to the future defence and protection of the whole. In particular, the people of Great Britain, when they looked forward to the possible contingency of a new war, and considered the burdens under which they groaned, had a melancholy and dreadful prospect before them; and the parliament considered it as their indispensable duty to relieve them as much as possible, and provide for the safety of the state by a pro-

portionable charge on all its subjects. For, as the exemption of one part from this equal charge was unreasonable and unjust, so it might tend to alienate the hearts of these subjects residing in one corner of the empire from those in another, and destroy that union and harmony in which the strength of the whole consisted.

Such were probably the views and designs of the parliament of Great Britain at this juncture, with respect to America. At the same time, if we consider the genius, temper, and circumstances of the Americans, we will find them jealous of their liberties, proud of their strength, and sensible of their importance to Britain. They had hitherto obeyed the laws of the British parliament; but their great distance, their vast extent of territory, their numerous ports and conveniences for trade, their increasing numbers, their various productions, and consequently their growing power, had now prepared and enabled them for resisting such laws as they deemed inconsistent with their interest, or dangerous to their liberty. Some of these colonists even inherited a natural aversion to monarchy from their forefathers, and, on all occasions discovered a strong tendency towards a republican form of government, both in church and state. So that, before the parliament began to exert its authority for raising a revenue from them, they were prepared to show their importance, and well disposed for resisting that supreme power, and loosening by degrees their connexion with the parent state.

America was not only sensible of her growing strength and importance, but also of the weakness of the mother country, reduced by a tedious and expensive war, and groaning under an immense load of national debt. The colonies boasted of the assistance they had given during the war, and Great Britain, sensible of their services, was generous enough to reimburse them part of the expenses which they had incurred. After this they began to overrate their importance, to rise in their demands, and to think so highly of their trade and alliance, as to deem it impos-

sible for Britain to support her credit without them. In vain did the mother country rely upon their gratitude for past favours, so as to expect relief with respect to her present burdens. We allow, that the first generation of emigrants retained some affection for Britain during their lives, and gloried in calling her their home and their mother country; but this natural impression wears away from the second, and is entirely obliterated in the third. Among the planters in all the colonies this was manifestly the case; the sons of Englishmen in America by degrees lost their affection for England, and it was remarkable, that the most violent enemies to Scotland were the descendants of Scotchmen.

But among merchants, the attachment to any particular country is still sooner lost. Men whose great object is money, and whose business is to gather it as fast as possible, in fact retain a predilection for any country no longer than it affords them the greatest advantages. They are citizens of the world at large, and provided they gain money, it is a matter of indifference to them to what country they trade, and from what quarter of the globe it comes. England is the best country for them, so long as it allows them to reap the greatest profits in the way of traffic; and when that is not the case, a trade with France, Spain, or Holland will answer better. If the laws of Great Britain interfere with their favourite views and interests, merchants will endeavour to elude them, and smuggle in spite of legal authority. Of late years, although the trade of the colonies with the mother country had increased beyond the hopes of the most sanguine politicians, yet the American merchants could not be confined to it, but carried on a contraband trade with the colonies of France and Spain, in defiance of all the British laws of trade and navigation. This illicit trade the people had found very advantageous, having their returns in specie for their provisions and goods, and the vast number of creeks and rivers in America proved favourable to smugglers. During the late war this trade had been made a treasonable practice, as it served to supply those islands which Britain

wanted to reduce; but, after the conclusion of the war, it returned to its former channel, and increased beyond example in any past period.

To prevent this illicit commerce, it was found necesssary, soon after the peace, to establish some new regulations in the trade of the colonists. For this purpose some armed sloops and cutters were stationed on the coasts of America, whose commanders had authority to act as revenue officers, and to seize all ships employed in that contraband trade, whether belonging to foreigners or fellow-subjects. And to render these commercial regulations the more effectual, courts of admiralty were erected, and invested with a jurisdiction more extensive than usual. In consequence of the restrictions laid on this trade, which the smugglers found so advantageous, it suffered much, and, notwithstanding the number of creeks and rivers, was almost annihilated. This occasioned some very spirited representations to be sent across the Atlantic by merchants, who declared that the Americans bought annually to the amount of three millions of British commodities: That their trade with the French and Spanish colonies took off such goods as remained an incumbrance on their hands, and made returns in specie, to the mutual advantage of both parties concerned in it. They complained, that the British ships of war were converted into guarda costas, and their commanders into custom-house officers; an employment utterly unworthy of the exalted character of the British navy: That naval officers were very unfit for this business in which they were employed, being naturally imperious in their tempers, and little acquainted with the various cases in which ships were liable to penalties, or in which they were exempted from detention: That that branch of trade was thereby ruined, by which alone they were furnished with gold and silver for making remittances to England; and that though the loss fell first upon them, it would ultimately fall on the commerce and revenue of Great Britain.

Soon after this an act of parliament was passed, which,

while it in some respects rendered this commercial intercourse with the foreign settlements legal, at the same time loaded a great part of the trade with duties, and ordered the money arising from them to be paid in specie to the British exchequer. Instead of giving the colonists any relief, this occasioned greater murmurs and complaints among them, as it manifestly tended to drain the provinces of their gold and silver. At the same time another act was passed for preventing such paper bills of credit as might afterward be issued for the conveniency of their internal commerce, from being made a legal tender in the payment of debts. This served to multiply their grievances, and aggravate their distress. But, that the provinces might be supplied with money for their internal trade, all gold and silver arising from these duties were to be reserved, and applied to the particular purpose of paying troops stationed in the colonies for their defence. Several new regulations for encouraging their trade with Great Britain were also established. In consequence of a petition for opening more ports for the rice trade, leave was granted to the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia to carry their rice for a limited time into foreign parts, on its paying British duties at the place of exportation. A bounty was given on hemp and undressed flax imported into Britain from the American colonies; and a bill was passed for encouraging the whale-fishery on the coasts of America: which advantages, it was thought, would amply compensate for any loss the colonies might sustain by the duties laid on their foreign trade. But the colonists, especially those in New England, who had advanced to such a degree of strength as rendered troops unnecessary for their defence, were too much soured in their tempers, to allow that Great Britain had any other than self-interested views in her whole conduct towards them. They murmured and complained, and resolved on a plan of retrenchment with respect to the purchasing of British manufactures; but still they presumed not openly to call in question the authority of the British legislature over them. But the time was at hand when their

affection to the mother country, which was already considerably weaned, should undergo a greater trial, and when their real dispositions with respect to the obedience due to the British parliament would no longer be concealed. A vote passed in the house of commons, and very unanimously, "That, towards the farther defraying of the necessary expenses of protecting the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties upon them."

When the news of this determination reached America, all the colonies were in some degree uneasy at the thoughts of paying taxes; but the colonists of New England, as if ripe for some commotion, were alarmed with the most terrible apprehensions and suspicions, openly affirming, that the king, lords, and commons had formed a design for enslaving them, and had now begun deliberately to put it in execution. Immediately they entered into associations for distressing the mother country, from a principle of resentment, as some thought, agreeing to purchase as few clothes and goods from her as possible, and to encourage manufactures of all kinds within themselves. They pretended that they were driven to such measures by necessity; but in reality they had nothing less in view than their favourite plan of independence, for the accomplishment of which it required time to secure the union and help of the other colonies, without which they plainly perceived all attempts of their own would be vain and fruitless. Accordingly they established a correspondence with some leading men in each colony, representing the conduct of Great Britain in the most odious light, and declaring that nothing could prevent them and their posterity from being made slaves but the firmest union and most vigorous opposition of every colony, to all laws made in Great Britain on purpose to raise a revenue in the plantations. A few discontented persons, who are commonly to be found in every legislature, joined the disaffected colonists of New England; and though at this time the party was inconsiderable, yet being more firmly cemented together by the prospect of a stamp-act, which equally

affected the interest of all, it by degrees gained strength, and at length became formidable.

Such measures, however, did not intimidate the British ministers, who imagined that an association entered into from a principle of resentment would be of short duration, and that the colonies in general would be averse from any serious quarrel with the mother country, upon which they depended for safety and protection. And although they were well apprised of this sullen and obstinate disposition of the colonists before the bill was introduced, yet they took no measures for preventing that opposition, which they had reason to believe would be made to the execution of their law. On the contrary, time was imprudently given to sound the temper of the colonies with respect to it, and to give them an opportunity of offering a compensation for it in their own way, in case they were dissatisfied with that method of raising a revenue for their defence. The minister even signified to the agents of the colonies his readiness to receive proposals from them for any other tax that might be equivalent to the stamp-duty. This he did although he thought that the parliament not only had a right to tax them, but also that it was expedient and proper to exercise that right. For, as the colonies had no common council empowered by their constitution to bind all, their taxing themselves equally and impartially would be a matter of great difficulty, even although they should be disposed to agree to it. But the colonies, instead of making any proposal for raising a revenue by a stamp-duty or any other way, sent home petitions to be presented to king, lords, and commons, questioning, in the most direct and positive terms, the jurisdiction of parliament over their properties.

In this situation of affairs, the parliament, sensible of the heavy burden which already lay on the people of Great Britain, and of the addition to it which another war must occasion, thought it their indispensable duty to exert that authority, which before this time had never been called in question, for relieving this oppressed part of the nation,

took encouragement from them to resist the authority of the supreme legislature. Though each colony in respect of another was a separate and independent society, without any political connexion, or any supreme head to call the representatives of the people together, to act in concert for the common good; yet in this case almost all, of their own authority, sent deputies to meet in congress at New York, who drew up and signed one general declaration of their rights, and of the grievances under which they laboured, and transmitted a petition to the king, lords, and commons, imploring relief.

Among the rest, a party in South Carolina, which province at this time, from inclination, duty and interest, was very firmly attached to the mother country, entered warmly into the general oppositon. Lieutenant Governor Bull, a native of the province, manifested a desire of complying with the act, and supporting the legal and constitutional dependency of the colony on the crown and parliament of Great Britain; but wanted power sufficient for maintaining the dignity and authority of his government, and carrying that act into execution. Several old and wise men joined him, and declared that they had formerly taken an active part in bringing the province under his majesty's care, but would now be very cautious of resisting the authority of parliament, and robbing it of that protection which it had so long and so happily enjoyed. The members of assembly, finding the lieutenant governor determined to transact no public business but in compliance with the act of parliament, began to deliberate how they might best elude it. For this purpose they addressed him, begging to be informed whether the stamp-act, said to be passed in parliament, had been transmitted to him by the secretary of state, the lords of trade, or any other authentic channel, since he considered himself as under obligations to enforce it. He replied, that he had received it from Thomas Boone the governor of the province. The assembly declared, that they could consider Mr. Boone, while out of the bounds of his government, in no other light

than that of a private gentleman, and that his receiving it in such a channel was not authority sufficient to oblige him to execute so grievous an act. But Mr. Bull and his council were of opinion, that the channel in which he had received it was equally authentic with that in which he had formerly received many laws, to which they had quietly submitted. Upon which the assembly came to the following resolutions, which were signed by Peter Manigault, their speaker, and ordered to be printed, that they might be transmitted to posterity, in order to show the sense of that house with respect to the obedience due by America to the British parliament.

"*Resolved*, That his majesty's subjects in Carolina owe the same allegiance to the crown of Great Britain that is due from its subjects born there. That his majesty's liege subjects of this province are entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain. That the inhabitants of this province appear also to be confirmed in all the rights aforementioned, not only by their charter, but by an act of parliament, 13th George II. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent. That the people of this province are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be represented in the house of commons in Great Britain; and farther, that, in the opinion of this house, the several powers of legislation in America were constituted in some measure upon the apprehension of this impracticability. That the only representatives of the people of this province are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be, constitutionally imposed on them but by the legislature of this province. That all supplies to the crown being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British constitution for the people of Great Britain to grant to his majesty the property of the people of this province. That trial by jury is the

and providing for the common safety, by a charge impartially laid upon all subjects, in proportion to their abilities. The tender indulgence exercised by a parent over her children in their infant state, was now considered as both unreasonable and unnecessary in that state of maturity to which the colonies had advanced. All were obliged to confess, that the people of America were favoured with the same privileges and advantages with their fellow-subjects of Britain, and justice required that they should contribute to the necessary expenses of that government under which they lived, and by which they were protected. A revenue was necessary to the future security of America; and on whom should it be raised, but those colonists who were to enjoy the benefit of such protection. Therefore the bill for laying a stamp duty upon the colonies was brought into parliament; which, after much debate, and many strong arguments urged on both sides, passed though both houses, and received the royal assent by commission on the 22d of March, 1765. At the same time, to compensate for the operations of the stamp-act, another was made to encourage the importation of all kinds of timber from the colonies into Britain; and as the estimated produce of the stamp-act amounted only to £60,000 *per annum*, and timber was so plentiful over all the plantations, it was thought that the great advantage which the colonies must reap from the latter act, would be an ample recompense for the loss they might sustain from the former.

In the mean time the inhabitants of New England were industrious in spreading an alarm of danger over all the continent, and making all possible preparations for resistance. They had turned a jealous eye towards the mother country, where they had many friends employed to watch her conduct, who failed not to give them the earliest intelligence of what was doing in parliament. While they received the news that the stamp-act had passed, they at the same time had intelligence of that violent opposition it had met with from a strong faction in the house of commons. And if their

friends in Britain had the boldness to call in question both the right of the British legislature to impose taxes on the colonies, and the expediency of exercising that right, they thought that they had much better reason to do so; and that none deserved the blessing of liberty who had not courage to assert their right to it. Accordingly, no means were neglected that could inflame and exasperate the populace. Bold and seditious speeches were made to stir up the people to resistance, by representing the act in the most odious light, and affirming that it would be attended with consequences subversive of all their invaluable rights and privileges. They declared that silence was a crime at such a critical time, and that a tame submission to the stamp-act would leave their liberties and properties entirely at the disposal of a British parliament. Having obtained a copy of the act, they publicly burnt it. The ships in the harbours hung out their colours half-mast high, in token of the deepest mourning; the bells in the churches were muffled, and set a-ringing, to communicate the melancholy news from one parish to another. These flames kindled in New England, soon spread though all the capital towns along the coast; so that there was scarcely a seaport town in America in which combinations were not framed for opposing the introduction of stamp-paper.

When the vessels arrived which carried those stamp papers to America, the captains were obliged to take shelter under the stern of some ships of war, or to surrender their cargoes into the hands of the enraged populace. The gentlemen appointed to superintend the distribution of stamps, were met by the mob at their landing, and compelled to resign their office. All men suspected of having any desire of complying with the act, or of favouring the introduction of stamps into America, were insulted and abused. The governors of the provinces had no military force to support civil authority. The magistrates connived at these irregular and riotous proceedings of the people. The assemblies adopted the arguments of the minority in parliament, and

inherent and invaluable right of every British subject in this province. That the act of parliament, entitled, an act for granting and applying certain stamp-duties and other duties on the British colonies and plantations in America, &c. by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of this province; and the said act and several other acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of this province. That the duties imposed by several late acts of parliament on the people of this province will be extremely burdensome and grievous; and, from the scarcity of gold and silver, the payment of them absolutely impracticable. That as the profits of the trade of the people of this province ultimately centre in Great Britain, to pay for the manufactures which they are obliged to take from thence, they eventually contribute very largely to all the supplies granted to the crown; and besides, as every individual in this province is as advantageous at least to Great Britain as if he were in Great Britain, as they pay their full proportion of taxes for the support of his majesty's government here, (which taxes are equal, or more, in proportion to our estates, than those paid by our fellow-subjects in Great Britain upon theirs,) it is unreasonable for them to be called upon to pay any further part of the charges of government there. That the assemblies of this province have from time to time, whenever requisitions have been made to them by his majesty, for carrying on military operations, either for the defence of themselves or America in general, most cheerfully and liberally contributed their full proportion of men and money for these services. That though the representatives of the people of this province had equal assurances and reasons with those of the other provinces, to expect a proportional reimbursement of those immense charges they had been at for his majesty's service in the late war, out of the several parliamentary grants for the use of America; yet they have obtained only their proportion of the first of those grants, and the small sum of £285 sterling

received since. That, notwithstanding, whenever his majesty's service shall for the future require the aids of the inhabitants of this province, and they shall be called upon for this purpose in a constitutional way, it shall be their indispensable duty most cheerfully and liberally to grant to his majesty their proportion, according to their ability, of men and money, for the defence, security, and other public services of the British American colonies. That the restrictions on the trade of the people of this province, together with the late duties and taxes imposed on them by act of parliament, must necessarily greatly lessen the consumption of British manufactures among them. That the increase, prosperity, and happiness of the people of this province, depend on the full and free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and on an affectionate intercourse with Great Britain. That the readiness of the colonies to comply with his majesty's requisitions, as well as their inability to bear any additional taxes beyond what is laid on them by their respective legislatures, is apparent from several grants of parliament, to reimburse them part of the heavy expenses they were at in the late war in America. That it is the right of the British subjects of this province to petition the king, or either house of parliament. *Ordered*, That these votes be printed and made public, that a just sense of the liberty, and the firm sentiments of loyalty of the representatives of the people of this province, may be known to their constituents, and transmitted to posterity."

Notwithstanding these resolutions, few of the inhabitants of Carolina, even the most sanguine, entertained the smallest hopes of a repeal; but expected, after all their struggles, that they would be obliged to submit. Indeed a very small force in the province at that time would have been sufficient to quell the tumults and insurrections of the people, and enforce obedience to legal authority. But to the imprudence of ministers, the faction in parliament, and the weakness of the civil power in America, the resistance of the colonies may be ascribed. Had the stamp duty been laid on them

without any previous notice of the resolution of parliament, it is not improbable that they would have received it as they had done other acts of the British legislature. Or had the parliament been unanimous in passing the act, and taken proper measures for carrying it into execution, there is little doubt but the colonies would have submitted to it. For however generally the people might be indisposed for admitting of that or any other tax, yet a great majority of them at this time were averse from calling in question the supreme authority of the British parliament. But a small flame, which at first is easily extinguished, when permitted to spread, has often been productive of great conflagrations. The riotous and turbulent party, encouraged by the minority in England, set the feeble power of government in America at defiance. The better sort of people mingled with the rioters, and made use of the arguments of their friends in England to inflame and exasperate them. At length, they not only agreed to adhere to their former illegal combinations for distressing and starving the English manufacturers, but also to withhold from British merchants their just debts. This they imagined would raise such commotions in Britain as could not fail to overturn the ministry, or intimidate the parliament.

In consequence of these disturbances and combinations in America, great evils began to be felt in England, and still greater to be feared. The temporary interruption of commercial intercourse between the mother country and the colonies was very prejudicial to both. That large body of people engaged in preparing, purchasing, and sending out goods to the continent were deprived of employment, and consequently of the means of subsistence; than which nothing could be conceived more likely to excite commotions in England. The revenue suffered by the want of the export and import duties. Petitions flowed into parliament from all quarters, not only from the colonies in America, but also from the trading and manufacturing towns in Great Britain, praying for such relief as to that house might seem

expedient, at a juncture so alarming. The ministers having neglected to take the proper measures to enforce their law, while the matter was easy and practicable, were now obliged to yield to the rising current, and resign their places. By the interposition of the duke of Cumberland, such a change in the administration took place as promised an alteration of measures with respect to America. Mr. Pitt, who highly disapproved of the scheme for raising a revenue from the colonies, having long been detained by indisposition from parliament, had now so much recovered as to be able to attend the house.—The history of what follows is disgraceful to Great Britain, being entirely composed of lenient concessions in favour of a rising usurpation, and of such shameful weakness and timidity in the ministry, as afterward rendered the authority of the British parliament in America feeble and contemptible.

No sooner had this change in administration taken place, than all papers and petitions relative to the stamp-act, both from Great Britain and America, were ordered to be laid before the house of commons. The house resolved itself into a committee, to consider of those papers, about the beginning of the year 1766. Leave was given to bring in a bill for repealing an act of last session of parliament, entitled, An act for granting and applying certain stamp-duties and other duties, in the British colonies and plantations in America, towards defraying the expenses of protecting and securing the same. When this bill came into parliament a warm debate ensued, and Mr. Pitt with several more members strongly urged the necessity of a repeal. He made a distinction between external and internal taxes, and denied not only the right of parliament to impose the latter on the colonies, but also the justice, equity, policy, and expediency of exercising that right. Accordingly, while it was declared that the king, by and with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, had, have, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of

sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever; the stamp-act was repealed, because it appeared that the continuance of it would be attended with many inconveniences, and might be productive of consequences detrimental to the commercial interest of these kingdoms.

This concession in favour of the rising usurpation, instead of proving favourable to the commercial interests of the nation, had rather the contrary effect, and served to set the colonies in some measure free from the legislative authority of Britain. It gave such importance to the licentious party in America, and such superiority over the good and loyal subjects, as had a manifest tendency to throw the colonies into a state of anarchy and confusion. It served to promote a doctrine among them subversive of all good government, which plainly implied, that the obedience of subjects was no longer due to the laws of the supreme legislature, than they in their private judgments might think them agreeable to their interest, or the particular notions which they may have framed of a free constitution. While it gave countenance and encouragement to the riotous and turbulent subjects in America, who at that time were neither an opulent nor respectable party in the colonies, it exposed the real friends of government to popular prejudice, and rendered their affections more cool, and their future endeavours in support of government more feeble and ineffectual. For after repealing the stamp-act, without any previous submission on the part of the colonies, how could it be expected that any gentleman would risk his domestic peace, his fortune, or his life, in favour of a distant government ready to desert him, and leave him subjected to all the insults and outrages of future insurgents? How could it be imagined that these colonies, that had set the power of Great Britain at defiance, and obtained what they aimed at by tumults and insurrections, would afterward remain quiet? As they had opposed the stamp-act, assigning for reason that they were

not represented in parliament, was it not evident that the same reason would extend to all other laws which the parliament might enact to bind them in times to come, or had enacted to bind them in times past? The repeal of the stamp-act upon such a principle, and in such circumstances of tumult, unquestionably served to encourage the colonies in disobedience, and to prepare their minds for asserting their independence.

When the news of the repeal of this act reached America, it afforded the colonists, as might have been expected, matter of great triumph. The most extravagant demonstrations of joy, by bonfires, illuminations, and ringing of bells, were exhibited in every capital. The Carolineans sent to England for a marble statue of Mr. Pitt, and erected it in the middle of Charlestown, in grateful remembrance of the noble stand he had made in defence of their rights and liberties. Addresses were sent home to the king, acknowledging the wisdom and justice of his government in the repeal of the grievous act, and expressing their happiness that their former harmony and commercial intercourse, so beneficial to both countries, were restored. But, soon after, it appeared that the power of Great Britain, in America, had received a fatal blow, such as she would never be able to recover, without the severest struggles, and boldest exertions. For, whatever fair professions of friendship some colonies might make, the strongest of them retained their natural aversion to monarchy, and were well disposed for undermining the civil establishments, and paving the way for their entire subversion. The British government, formerly so much revered, was now deemed oppressive and tyrannical. The little island, they said, had become jealous of their dawning power and splendour, and it behooved every one to watch her conduct with a sharp eye, and carefully guard their civil and religious liberties. Accordingly, for the future, we will find, that the more Great Britain seemed to avoid, the more the colonies seemed to seek for, grounds of quarrel; and the more the former studied to unite, by the

ties of common interest, the more the latter strove to dissolve every political and commercial connexion. Their minds and affections being alienated from the mother country, they next discovered an uneasiness under the restraints of legal authority. They quarrelled almost with every governor, found fault with all instructions from England which clashed with their leading passions and interests, and made use of every art for weakening the hands of civil government. Their friends in Britain had gloried that they had resisted; and now subjection of every kind was called slavery, and the spirit of disorder and disobedience which had broken out, continued and prevailed. At length, even the navigation act was deemed a yoke, which they wished to shake off, and throw their commerce open to the whole world. Several writers appeared in America, in defence of what they were pleased to call their natural rights, who had a lucky talent of seasoning their compositions to the palate of the bulk of the people. Hence the seeds of disaffection, which had sprung up in New England, spread through the other colonies, insomuch that multitudes became infected with republican principles, and aspired after independence. But here we shall stop for the present time, and leave the account of their farther struggles towards the accomplishment of this favourite plan to some future opportunity.

END OF VOL. I.

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